THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XXXVI

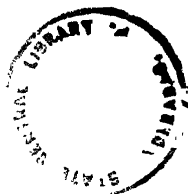
(February - June 1928)



THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

XXXVI

(February-June 1928)





THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

January 1970 (Magha 1891)

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, NEW DELHI-1
AND PRINTED IN INDIA BY SHANTILAL HARJIVAN SHAH,
NAVAJIVAN PRESS, AHMEDABAD-14

PREFACE

During the period of five months (February 1, 1928 to June 30, 1928) covered by this volume, Gandhiji enjoyed comparative "respite from travels and onerous public duties" (p. 28) and stayed at the Ashram most of the time. He had just ended a strenuous tour of South India in the cause of khadi. Khadi had now acquired added importance as a powerful weapon in the programme of foreign-cloth boycott, which was to serve as the effective sanction behind the national demand and which Gandhiji was determined to bring about "with the assistance of mills if possible, without if necessary" (p. 77). He wanted not only that the All-India Spinners' Association and organizations working under it should be strengthened and their scope enlarged, not only that khadi activity should be "taken up by children, men, women, Hindus, Muslims and all others" (p. 171), but he wanted the mills also to help the boycott by standardizing their prices, lowering their profits and taking up the sale of khadi. The response from the mills was not very encouraging and before long it became clear to Gandhiji that "no immediate good will come out of these negotiations" with the mill-owners (p. 217). Nevertheless, "as an out-and-out believer in the method of non-violence", he persisted in the attempt to convert the mill-owners to the nationalistic view, warning them at the same time of satyagraha "if they will not listen to reason and will obstinately stand in the way" (p. 217).

The storm of protest that broke all over the country on the arrival of the Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon finds no more than an echo in the volume because Gandhiji "with great deliberation and not without the exercise of great self-restraint" refrained from active association with the boycott, as he recognized that his interference would bring the masses into the movement and "might possibly embarrass the promoters" (p. 14).

Similarly, with regard to the All-Parties Conference that was intended to put up a solid opposition to the Government and the Statutory Commission, Gandhiji maintained a grieved silence. The Conference seemed to be getting nowhere and Jawaharlal Nehru, at the end of ten days, found the strain too great for him (p. 58). "What a sorry exhibition we are making of ourselves in the face of this organized insult to a whole people," exclaimed Gandhiji in a letter to Motilal Nehru (p. 67).

The most significant event in the period was the Bardoli

Satyagraha, begun six years after the abandonment of the first Bardoli Satyagraha following the Chauri-Chaura tragedy. The 1928 satyagraha arose out of an excessive increase in the land revenue assessment. The cultivators asked for an impartial tribunal to examine the question. On the Government proving intransigent, they offered satyagraha which took the form of non-payment of revenue. The Government, quick to see in the movement a challenge to its authority, went all out to crush the spirit of the peasantry. There were wholesale arrests, intimidation by police and Pathans, seizure and auctioning of livestock and land. But the cultivators, led by the indomitable Vallabhbhai Patel, remained defiant and peaceful. Gandhiji guided the movement from a distance, even drafting letters for Vallabhbhai and Vithalbhai, and cultivated public opinion in favour of the people's case, for this limited and local satyagraha was also a step towards swaraj, as it provided training in "disciplined and peaceful resistance" and "corporate suffering" (p. 90).

There is in the present volume evidence of a deeper inwardness in Gandhiji's thinking. Referring to a newspaper report that he had predicted his own death, he wrote to Rajagopalachari: "Many are grieved that I did not die on the 17th. . . . Perhaps I am one among them. Perhaps I did die a kind of death. We shall see" (p. 118). The two years of reflection and introspection since the beginning of 1926, when Gandhiji voluntarily retired from active politics, had, it would appear, resulted in a new spiritual insight. During this period, he studied the *Gita* in detail and discoursed on it to the Ashram inmates. As he wrote his weekly instalments of *An Autobiography*, he began to look at his past life with greater detachment and greater humility. Writing to Jane Howard on March 12, he said: "But I thought that if people recognize me as a gentle peace-loving man, they should also know that at one time I could be a positive beast even though at the same time I claimed to be a loving husband. It was not without good cause that a friend once described me as a combination of sacred cow and ferocious tiger" (p. 101). He also admitted in an article in *Young India* that "it was a mixed motive that prompted me to participate in the War" (p. 108), the worldly motive being "to qualify for swaraj through the good offices of the statesmen of the Empire" (p. 109).

A grievous personal loss was suffered by Gandhiji when on April 23, 1928, Maganlal Gandhi passed away after a brief illness in Bihar, where he had gone to help his daughter in a campaign against *purdah*. Gandhiji had dreamed of and worked for this

nephew succeeding him as the head of the Ashram and now he was inconsolable. "It is perhaps the greatest trial of my life", he wrote to Andrews on April 26. In "My Best Comrade Gone" he described Maganlal as "my hands, my feet, my eyes" and added: "As I am penning these lines, I hear the sobs of the widow bewailing the death of her dear husband. Little does she realize that I am more widowed than she. And but for a living faith in God, I should become a raving maniac for the loss of one who was dearer to me than my own sons . . . His life is an inspiration for me, a standing demonstration of the efficacy and the supremacy of the moral law" (p. 263). In a Gujarati article he showed how Maganlal taught through his life the truth that service of the country, service of the world, self-realization and vision of God are but different aspects of the same thing (p. 281). Writing to his son Manilal on May 7, he said, "I feel that a change has come over my life these days. Imperceptibly and involuntarily a struggle is going on within me. Maganlal's soul rules over my heart" (p. 297).

However, as Gandhiji explained in a letter to Anne Marie Petersen, his faith in God turned the grief into joy and gave him "zest for greater service, greater dedication" (p. 307). He, therefore, concentrated his attention on overhauling the Ashram, his "best creation" (p. 1, p. 251), and "bringing it more in line with its ideals" (p. 342). Here, as in the Gujarat Vidyapith (p. 7), he was prepared to sacrifice everything to quality. He got the Ashram constitution revised, made the rule about *brahmacharya* absolute and insisted on all inmates having a common kitchen. The revised constitution, "the result of the joint labours of the main workers" (p. 398), was published in *Young India* (pp. 398-410) and criticisms and suggestions were invited.

There are several references to a possible visit to Europe— a visit that in the end did not come off. The chief purpose of the visit was to have been to meet Romain Rolland and other European workers in the cause of peace. "My anxiety is to meet Rolland. He appears to be the wisest man of Europe. He takes an unusual interest in me and feels grieved if he thinks that in any single thing my opinion is wrong" (pp. 117-8). But, as always with Gandhiji, his concern for truth was greater than his regard for a friend, and he, therefore, wrote to Rolland: "I do indeed want to stand well with you, but I must be true to myself if I am to continue to deserve your warm friendship" (p. 25). Whether Gandhiji feared mutual disillusionment as a result of personal confrontation or felt self-conscious about a mission for which he was not mentally ready, he found it extremely difficult to come

to a decision. "I can't summon up sufficient courage to make up my mind whether to go to Europe or not to go", he said in a letter to Muriel Lester (p. 226). Gandhiji even felt troubled by this indecision. Writing to Dr. Ansari on April 7, he said: "The proposed European visit is causing me much trouble just now. I can't make up my mind. I know that I should not be so undecided like this. But what is the use of hiding my weakness? I can't account for it myself" (p. 201). Gandhiji left the burden of decision to Romain Rolland, and when the latter refused to take the responsibility the matter was dropped.

In a series of articles Gandhiji exposed the hollowness of the prevailing system of education and spelt out his own ideas of a village-based, village-oriented education. Children, Gandhiji insisted, should be familiar not only with the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* but with "their modern spiritual meaning" (p. 343). Again he declared: "If we take too literally the events described in the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, etc., we shall be led along the path of untruth and fall headlong into a chasm. We shall certainly rise if we understand their inner meaning and put it into practice" (p. 456). In a speech on Ramanavami (pp. 163-6) he expounded at some length this *adhyatmik* or anagogical approach to the old stories which, by strengthening the poetic faith in Rama and Krishna, would enthrone the mythical hero as the inner ruler who can "take us across" to the direct if momentary experience of transcendental *ananda* and thus make the practice of dharma natural and easy. While laying it down that "full development of the soul is impossible without *brahmacharya*" (p. 457), he found the key to *brahmacharya* and all other virtues in single-minded devotion, which even children could learn by emulating the steadfast gaze in the eyes of Hanuman, that "incomparable devotee and servant of Rama" (p. 182).

As a cure for the many ills and difficulties arising from our doubting state, Gandhiji prescribed "decisive, firm, clear action" which "like the glistening sun" "not only dispels all darkness but destroys all disease germs" (p. 246). Convinced that true religion would show itself in the smallest detail of life, he regarded "the slightest irregularity in sanitary, social and political life" as "a sign of spiritual poverty" (p. 449).

The volume carries two memorable messages: one to the International Fellowship exalting one silent act of fellowship above "tons of professions" (p. 203), and the other to an American Y.M.C.A.: "God is Truth. The way to reach Truth is through the loving service of all that lives" (p. 276).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography* cite only the Part and Chapter, in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G. N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume, we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, the Nehru Memorial Meuseum and Library, New Delhi; Shri G. D. Birla, Calcutta; Mr. Aylmer Maude, Chelmsford; Shri S. R. Venkataraman, Madras; Smt. Premlila Thackersey, Poona; Smt. Tehmina Khambhatta, Bombay; Smt. Radhabehn Choudhri, New Delhi; Shri Shantikumar Morarji, Bombay; Shri T. Negesha Rao, Puttur, South Canara; Shri U. Rajagopala Krishnayya, Shri Narandas Gandhi, Rajkot; Shri Shrinath Singh, Allahabad; Shri Ravishanker Maharaj; Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya; Smt. Mirabehn, England; Mr. F. H. Brown, London; Shri Narayan Desai, Bardoli; Shri Lalchand Jeychand Vora, Bagasra; the publishers of the books—*Bapu*, *Bapuna Patro—Manibehn Patelne*, *Bapuna Patro—Sardar Vallabhbhaine*, *Bapuni Prasadi*, *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, *The Story of Bardoli*; and the following newspapers and journals: *The Bombay Chronicle*, *The Hindu*, *Navajivan*, *Prajabandhu*, *Young India*.

For research and reference facilities, we owe thanks to the All-India Congress Committee Library, the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi; the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad, and Shri Pyarelal Nayar, New Delhi; and for assistance in photo-printing documents, to the Photo Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.

CONTENTS

1. SPEECH TO STUDENTS OF GUJARAT VIDYAPITH[1]

[*February 1, 1928*][2]

I have not come to take you by storm, not in the Caesarean spirit of *veni, vidi, vici.* But I have simply thrown myself in your midst, so that you can make whatever use you like of me on the eve of the changes that are impending. It would perhaps be better if I said that I have come to clear a long-standing debt I have long owed to you as your Chancellor to come and stay in your midst and identify myself with you as much as I could. But I have never been able to do so. I am thankful to the Giver of all good for having given me this opportunity of spending some time with you.

I have not come to create any disturbance in the even tenor of your lives. I do not insist on your attending the four-o'clock morning prayers. If you are convinced that prayer is an essential thing in one's life and that it is best to begin one's day with prayer in the early hours of the morning, you will attend it. If you do not, I shall certainly be sorry, but will not resent your absence. In the same way, I should like you to accompany me every evening to the Ashram to attend the evening prayer there. That also you will do if the spirit moves you, and if you feel that your work will permit you to do so. I want you to go there, not because I want you to join the Ashram, though I would be glad if you did so, but because I want you to understand and identify yourselves somewhat with the Ashram. For I make no secret of it that the Ashram is the best of my creations. I can myself point out numerous defects in it, and can add many more from your own experience. But I assure you that I am more conscious of them than anyone else and yet I hold that, with all its shortcomings, it is the best of my creations. I would have me and my work judged by the Ashram more than by anything else. Hence I would love you to attend the evening prayer daily. But this is a mere suggestion to be rejected or adopted out of your own free will.

Let me not live in your midst as a burden, but as a friend, and, if possible, a guide if you will.

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter"

[2] According to a report in *Navajivan,* 5-2-1928, Gandhiji arrived at the Vidyapith in the evening of January 31 and spoke to the students at the prayer meeting next morning.

I am willing to give you a quarter of an hour every day or two periods every week just as you might desire. I am not sure what I shall read with you, but that also I shall leave to you to decide.

Young India, 2-2-1928

2. *LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 1, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I wish you would lose your diffidence. Keep pressing Thakkar Bapa[1] on. His letter to Sir P.[2] should bear greater weight than mine, as his will be backed by experience. But you may keep me in touch. When there is anything I can do through *Young India*, you should tell me. But then you should send me a brief statement of work done and expectations.

You have to tell me whether you are ready, when you are free, to take up the all-India untouchability work. But you know the consequence. You may have to be continuously on the move. I want you to act with the greatest deliberation and decision.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 881

3. *MISS MAYO AGAIN*

Miss Mayo is clearly trading upon her knowledge that what we in India write can at best reach but a few hundred Americans, and that what she writes reaches thousands. She therefore feels perfectly free, just as it suits her, to misquote, half-quote or distort other people's writings or speeches intended to contradict her. She has done me the honour again of referring to me in her article in *Liberty* and attempted to discredit my writing[3] about her compilation, *Mother India*. This she has felt called upon to do, I suppose, because I enjoy a certain amount of credit among cultur-

[1] Amritlal V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society
[2] Purushottamdas Thakurdas
[3] *Vide* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 539-47.

ed Americans, and lest therefore their judgment may be affected by my article. But in her article in *Liberty* she has outdone herself. Her reference to my secretaries is a clever attempt to hoodwink the unwary reader. All that could be inferred from my repudiation of the statement that I had two secretaries (whether always or not is not the point) is that Miss Mayo was at least a careless writer if not a wilful perverter of truth. But the manner in which she described the secretaries leaves the reader under the belief that I have always two secretaries. Her adherence to the statement that I did give her the message she ascribed to me proves her to be guilty of a gross suppression of truth. She seems to have thought that I would not have a copy of the corrected interview between her and me. Unfortunately for her I happen to possess a copy of her notes. Here is the full quotation referring to the hum of the wheel:

> My message to America is simply the hum of this wheel. Letters and newspaper cuttings I get from America show that one set of people overrates the results of non-violent non-co-operation and the other not only underrates it, but imputes all kinds of motives to those who are concerned with the movement. Don't exaggerate one way or the other. If, therefore, some earnest Americans will study the movement impartially and patiently, then it is likely that the United States may know something of the movement which I do consider to be unique although I am the author of it. What I mean is that our movement is summed up in the spinning-wheel with all its implications. It is to me a substitute for gunpowder. For it brings the message of self-reliance and hope to the millions of India. And when they are really awakened, they would not need to lift their little finger in order to regain their freedom. The message of the spinning-wheel is, really, to replace the spirit of exploitation by the spirit of service. The dominant note in the West is the note of exploitation. I have no desire that my country should copy that spirit or that note.

The first sentence only of the foregoing extract, which Miss Mayo quotes without the most important commentary on it, is intended to ridicule me. But the whole paragraph, I hope, makes my meaning and message clear and intelligible. I wrote my article on her book whilst I was travelling. Had I had the notes before me, I should have quoted from them, and thus added force to my article. I claim, however, that the message as it appears in the full paragraph quoted is not different from what I have stated in the article Miss Mayo attempts to shake.

Whilst, therefore, even in "the trivial quibble" as she rightly calls the subject-matter of her contradiction, she is, I trust,

proved wholly unsuccessful, I claim that even if my memory had betrayed me, my conclusive reply to her is left unanswered and untouched. Having no case, she has followed the method of the pettifogging lawyer who vainly tries to discredit a hostile but unshakable witness by making him state things from memory which might be found on verification to be not quite accurate. It gives me pain to have to say that her article in *Liberty* proves her to be not only an unreliable writer, but an unscrupulous person devoid of sense of right and wrong.

Young India, 2-2-1928

4. GUJARAT VIDYAPITH

This National University, the first of its kind established when non-co-operation was at its height, has been struggling for existence for the past three or four years. The attendance of boys has gone down considerably. Several schools affiliated to it have closed or sought Government recognition. There would be nothing to worry over this decline, if there were no internal causes for it. But most of us including myself have felt that we have not done all we might have for this most useful national work of reconstruction. But whilst, if all had been vigilant, the defections might have been not so large as they have been, there are for the decline causes over which no one had any control. And though the quality of the work already done might have been easily better, what has been achieved is such as any institution would be proud of. I make bold to assert that but for the Vidyapith, Vallabhbhai Patel would not have been able to command the valuable assistance he did of so many workers during the late disastrous floods[1]. Indeed, the Vidyapith volunteers went even to Sind in order to assist Professor Malkani who has been doing heroic work there in connection with the Sind floods. I hope some day to deal with the Vidyapith graduates' work of which an accurate but brief analysis has been prepared by a graduate proud of being owned by it. Sufficient for the time being to make the confession of our neglect both avoidable and unavoidable and to state that we seem now to have been roused from our slumbers.

The preliminary cleansing step was taken on Sunday[2] last when the Senate handed over charge of the valuable property and

[1] In Gujarat, in July 1927; *vide* Vol. XXXIV.

[2] January 29, 1928

the still more valuable responsibility connected with the Vidyapith to a Board of Trustees by means of a resolution of which I give the translation below:

"This meeting of the Senate of the Gujarat Vidyapith is of opinion that

1. By having established the Gujarat Vidyapith in connection with the non-co-operation movement and by maintaining it in spite of a set-back in the movement, Gujarat has rendered essential service to the nation.

2. The Vidyapith has however continued year after year to suffer in point of numbers.

3. The Vidyapith could have achieved better results in point of quality, had the internal conditions been favourable; and,

4. The Vidyapith has now reached a stage in its evolution, when, in order to make it work more effectively and in order to ensure an unswerving observance of the principles hereinafter enunciated, the administration of the Vidyapith should be entrusted to a Board of Trustees.

Therefore, and in pursuance of the resolution for the reconstruction of the Vidyapith passed by this Senate on the 4th of December 1927, the Senate appoints a Board of Trustees called the Gujarat Vidyapith Mandal to be composed of those who, from the list herein below, pledge themselves to subscribe to and observe the principles hereinafter enunciated; hands over charge of all the institutions connected with the Vidyapith, along with their property, movable and immovable, as also all the rights and responsibilities pertaining thereto, to the said Vidyapith Mandal; and authorizes the Mandal to add to its membership subject to the same qualifications so as not to exceed 25; and authorizes it to exercise all other rights including that of filling vacancies caused by resignation, death, or dismissal of any member for breach of the pledge or similar other reason, the latter to take place by a vote of four-fifths of their number.

NAMES OF MEMBERS

1. Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel
2. „ Nrisimhaprasad Bhatt
3. „ Kaka Kalelkar
4. „ Shankerlal Banker
5. „ Mahadev Desai
6. „ Abdul Kadar Bavazir

7. ,, Manilal Kothari
8. ,, Kishorelal Mashruwala
9. ,, Narahari Parikh
10. ,, Valji Desai
11. ,, Hariprasad Vrajrai Desai
12. ,, Jugatram Dave
13. ,, Gokulbhai Bhatt
14. ,, Sukhlalji Pandit
15. ,, Parikshitlal Mazmudar
16. ,, Gopalrao Kulkarni
17. ,, Mama Phadke
18. Shrimati Manibehn V. Patel

PRINCIPLES

1. The principal object of the Vidyapith shall be to prepare workers of character, ability, education and conscientiousness, necessary for the conduct of the movements connected with the attainment of swaraj.

2. All the institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith shall be fully non-co-operating and shall therefore have nothing to do with any help from Government.

3. Whereas the Vidyapith has come into being in connection with swaraj, and non-violent non-co-operation as a means thereof, its teachers and trustees shall restrict themselves to those means only which are not inconsistent with truth and non-violence and shall consciously strive to carry them out.

4. The teachers and the trustees of the Vidyapith, as also all the institutions affiliated to it, shall regard untouchability as a blot on Hinduism, shall strive to the best of their power for its removal, and shall not exclude a boy or girl for reason of his or her untouchability nor shall give him or her differential treatment having once accorded admission to him or her.

5. The teachers and the trustees of and all the institutions affiliated to the Vidyapith shall regard hand-spinning as an essential part of the swaraj movement and shall therefore spin regularly, except when disabled, and shall habitually wear khadi.

6. The language of the Province shall have the principal place in the Vidyapith and shall be the medium of instruction.

EXPLANATION. Languages other than Gujarati may be taught by direct method.

7. The teaching of Hindi-Hindustani shall be compulsory in the curricula of the Vidyapith.

8. Manual training shall receive the same importance as intellectual training and only such occupations as are useful for the life of the nation shall be taught.

9. Whereas the growth of the nation depends not on cities but its villages, the bulk of the funds of the Vidyapith and a majority of the teachers of the Vidyapith shall be employed in the propagation of education conducive to the welfare of the villagers.

10. In laying down the curricula, the needs of village-dwellers shall have principal consideration.

11. There shall be complete toleration of all established religions in all institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith, and for the spiritual development of the pupils, religious instruction shall be imparted in consonance with truth and non-violence.

12. For the physical development of the nation, physical exercise and physical training shall be compulsory in all the institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith.

NOTE. Hindi-Hindustani means the language commonly spoken by the masses of the North, both Hindu and Mussalman, written in the Devanagari or the Persian script."

But drastic as this step is, it may mean nothing if it is not to be followed up by quick, persistent and vigilant effort. Such effort may for the time being even result in further defections. The Senate, now the Board of Trustees, have been quite aware of the possibility. They want quality and feel that if the quality is assured, quantity will come in its own time. They are prepared to sacrifice everything to quality. It would be wrong to use donations of those who have given and will give in the belief that the principles for which the institution has professed to stand will be worked out in practice in so far as it is humanly possible. As reformers the trustees would belie their trust if they sacrifice principles for holding the institution together anyhow. Personally I have no fear as to the result if the trustees remain staunch, as I have every reason to believe they will.

On the surface there would appear to be a descent from democracy to oligarchy. As a matter of fact it is not. The large elected body could not be sustained when the principles for which the elected Senate for the time being stood were in the melting-pot. A democracy's ideals and principles vary with the times. A reformer's principles are rigid and fixed. When non-co-operation ceased

to be national, those who believed in it as a creed, the only final solution for the removal of India's fetters, were bound to save the creed by working it to its logical conclusion in their own lives. Hence did the Congress bring into being an independent self-governing body styled the All-India Spinners' Association, composed of those who had a living faith in the message of the wheel. The unwritten understanding was that the Association would work out the programme of khadi so as to become in process of time a tower of strength to the parent body. The permanent trust has been created in the hope of evolving a truly democratic institution. And there is a democracy such as the world has never seen if khadi becomes a truly national institution. Even so has the Senate emerged as a Board of Trustees pledged to work out its present ideals so as to make national education a living force, so as, that is to say, to cover every village in Gujarat, to enable the students to realize the dignity of labour equally with the dignity of learning, to produce national servants who will serve the nation in her villages. The Senate, when after a full discussion it came to the resolution on Sunday, has no less a hope, the Trustees shouldered no less a responsibility. No oligarchy can arise from a voluntary surrender such as the Senate's was. It gave up its powers to a permanent body when it was in possession of the fullest powers and in a position to exercise them to the fullest extent. It was an act of self-denial whose virtue has to be proved by the Trustees. Theirs is an awful responsibility. But, with proper consecration, it will sit lightly on their shoulders and Gujarat as well as India will be the gainer thereby. They will be judged not by the quantity of result turned out but by the quantity and the quality of self-service put in.

Young India, 2-2-1928

5. *APPEAL TO PEOPLE OF BOMBAY*

I hope that the boycott[1] will pass peacefully and show the nation's strength of purpose.

GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-2-1928

[1] Of Simon Commission which was appointed "for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of Government"; *vide* also "After Hartal?", 9-2-1928.

6. *MESSAGE TO PUBLIC MEETING, AHMEDABAD*[1]

February 3, 1928

I hope this meeting will not disperse without deciding to do something concrete. The Congress Committee has entrusted us with such a task; if we fail to achieve this definite goal of boycott of foreign cloth, we would be ridiculed.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 5-2-1928

7. *LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Magha Shukla 14 [*February 4, 1928*][2]

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

Your letters keep coming and every time I pray for your peace.

You did well in sending some money for the memorial to Hakimji.

By and by, if you make the effort, you will visualize truth and ahimsa. If your father-in-law is addicted to bhang, be kind to him, and if opportunity occurs, try to cure him of his depraved habits. In the present circumstances when the evil customs like child-marriage and so on are rampant, such unequal alliances are inevitable.

Jamnalalji is absolutely right in advising you to go to Wardha and I also like the proposal to keep Babu at Wardha Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 193

[1] Held to protest against the Simon Commission and to endorse the resolution passed by the All-Parties Conference at Banaras. The message was read out by Vallabhbhai Patel, who presided.

[2] From the reference to the memorial to Hakimji (Hakim Ajmal Khan) who died in December 1927

8. LETTER TO REVASHANKER JHAVERI

AHMEDABAD,
Monday [February 6, 1928][1]

RESPECTED REVASHANKERBHAI,

Chi. Chhagan[2] and others came here day before yesterday. They had a long talk with the Thakore Saheb of Morvi. He has promised to lift the excise duty from cotton used in making khadi. He has also asked me for a man who will work for cow-protection. They talked about you too. The Thakore Saheb said that you should stay in Morvi and do all this work with his help. I also think that you should spend a part of your time there, if not all. From what Mirabehn told me I see that now you are keeping well. What news of Dhiru[3]?

Regards from
MOHANDAS

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN JHAVERI
MANIBHUVAN
LABURNUM ROAD
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1267

9. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM,
February 7, 1928

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your letter does make me anxious. Medicines would certainly cause tiredness. In my view total fasting is the first step. I have nothing to fear from it. Fasting can do no harm and should be undertaken not for a day or two, but for ten to fifteen days. If you decide to fast, you must stay here. I can send for one or two friends who are well versed in the technique of fasting. There is enough accommodation. The weather here is fine these days. If you wish to invite the specialist on fasting to Pilani, that too can be arranged.

[1] From the postmark
[2] Chhaganlal Mehta, son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta
[3] Son of Chhaganlal Mehta; he had been suffering from T. B.

It is my firm belief that on no account should you go to Delhi. I am writing today to *pujya* Malaviyaji and Lalaji to this effect. Regarding the memorial to Hakim Ajmal Khan, I have published an appeal in *Young India*[1] and *Navajivan*; I want donations from you and your friends. If you are not inclined to give a big sum and if you permit, I would take out a substantial portion from the Rs. 75,000 already donated by you. I leave it to you to have your name published or not. Please write to me without hesitation if you do not wish to give anything out of that.

Do not be alarmed by the reports of my health in the newspapers. There is not much cause for anxiety. Doctors do try to frighten me, but I remain unaffected by it.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6153. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

10. MESSAGE TO MEETING AT GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD[2]

February 7, 1928

Having submitted to the doctors I may not attend the meeting. Acharya Kripalani is going away. I hold that he is not in reality leaving the Vidyapith, because his spirit will be here. He will come here occasionally to deliver lectures and he also promises to come as helmsman if the time comes. My connection with Acharya Kripalani dates back to the time of my arrival from South Africa. I wish that all would follow him in his spirit of dedication, his simplicity and his devotion to duty.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 12-2-1928

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXV, pp.433-5 and 475-6.

[2] The message was read out by Ambalal Sarabhai, who presided over the meeting in place of Gandhiji. The meeting was held to bid farewell to J. B. Kripalani who was leaving for Banaras to join the Gandhi Ashram there.

11. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 8, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I shall see to your notes appearing in the next issue of *Young India*.[1] They were too late for the issue that is being printed today.

If you are ready for untouchability work, I am equally ready to take you up. We shall discuss plans and operations as soon as your work there is finished.

Don't be alarmed about the reports of my health. Doctors' instruments do give alarming readings, and therefore I have agreed to take full rest. Hence, such correspondence as I am permitted to undertake is dictated. But, personally, I feel that there is nothing vitally wrong. No doubt I am weak, but that is an old complaint.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 882

12. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 8, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I hope you have not become nervous over the news of my health. There was nothing in it, and there is nothing in it now so far as I can see. But as doctors themselves are frightened, I am taking all precautions and taking full rest. I am doing only a little bit of correspondence and that also by dictating.

Let me remind you that you have yet to finish the Shraddhanand series[2].

[1] *Vide* "Flood Relief Work in Sind", 16-2-1928.

[2] Three instalments of this had already appeared in *Young India*, 22-9-1927, 29-12-1927 and 5-1-1928.

Here is a copy of a letter from Kanikaraj. You will know its meaning fuller than I can.

I hope you will be going with Chhaganlal to Orissa so that he may know exactly what you would want him to do.

My love to everybody at the Ashram.

From a photostat: S.N. 13065

13. LETTER TO MRS. L. C. UNNI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters both of which I have kept by me for answer. It gave me great joy to see you in Calicut and it gave me much pleasure to receive your letters and to learn that my writings had given you some little help. I am delighted to find that you are regularly spinning. And seeing you are doing it in a religious spirit, I would like you to learn how to test the strength and the fineness of your yarn. If you are a reader of *Young India*, you will find the directions in the back numbers. I would ask you also to read the "Prize Essay on Hand-spinning"[1].

If you succeed in keeping early hours of the morning, I have no doubt that they will give you a peace and a joy which are not to be had in any other manner, provided, of course, that the very first thing done in the morning is to put oneself in tune with the Infinite. It is like putting oneself with perfect confidence in one's mother's lap.

I hope that your vegetarianism is agreeing with your health. If it does not, you must tell me what you are eating. I might be able to give you some guidance.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. L. C. UNNI
LAKSHMI VILAS
CALICUT

From a photostat: S.N. 13066

[1] *Hand-spinning and Hand-weaving* by S. V. Puntambekar and N. S. Varadachari

14. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 8, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your letter. Some digestible preparations can be made with oil. But this experiment cannot be conducted from a distance. At present fasting is the most essential and the best remedy for you. I have no doubt about it.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6154. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

15. AFTER HARTAL?

With great deliberation and not without the exercise of great self-restraint have I hitherto refrained practically from writing anything about the boycott of the Statutory Commission. I recognized the force of the appeal made to me by the *Leader* of Allahabad not to meddle with or influence the boycott movement, but to let the various parties manage it themselves. I recognized that my interference was bound to bring in the masses more prominently into the movement and might possibly embarrass the promoters. Now that the great demonstration is over, I feel free to say a word. I tender my congratulations to the organizers for the very great success they achieved on the hartal day[1]. It did my soul good to see Liberals, Independents and Congressmen ranged together on the same platform. I could not but admire the courage of the students of Government colleges in absenting themselves from their colleges for the sake of the national cause. All the world over students are playing a most important and effective part in shaping and strengthening national movements. It would be monstrous if the students of India did less.

My object now is to draw attention to the fact that the very success of the hartal will be turned against us if it is not followed up by sufficient and persistent action. We must belie the prophecy of Lord Sinha that the hartal was but a passing cloud. Let us bear

[1] February 3, 1928

in mind that, notwithstanding our opposition, the Commission, backed as it is by British bayonets, will go its own way. Where it cannot get *bona-fide* recognition, it will be manufactured for it. Did not a so-called deputation on behalf of 'untouchables' welcome the Commission as its true deliverers? Claiming to know the untouchables more than the members of the deputation, I make bold to assert that they no more represented the untouchables than would a party of Japanese, for instance.

If then we are to ensure a complete boycott, not only will there have to be a joint organization by all the parties for carrying it out and possibly picketing, wherever the Commission goes, but there must be some further demonstration of the nation's strength. Even though mine may be a voice in the wilderness and even at the risk of repeating a thousandth time the same old story, I suggest that there is nothing before the nation other than boycott of foreign cloth which can be brought about effectively and quickly. But like all great undertakings, it requires planning and organizing. It requires sustained and vigilant effort by a party of earnest, able and honest men and women exclusively devoted to the task. It is not an easy task. If it was, it would not produce the great results that are promised for it. It must evoke the best in the nation, before it is accomplished. But let us also frankly recognize that if we cannot organize this one thing, we shall organize nothing else.

Let me make my own position clear. I have no desire even now to interfere with the present evolution of the national movement except through occasional writings. This is written, therefore, by way of a humble appeal to the different parties who are jointly acting in order to vindicate national honour.

Young India, 9-2-1928

16. *NOTES*

Union of South Africa

Though through the heroic efforts of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri the social status of our countrymen in South Africa has undoubtedly improved and life is becoming less unbearable for self-respecting Indians, reminders come now and then from that sub-continent that much yet remains to be done before the Indian settlers enjoy the ordinary civic rights and feel their position safe. The latest shock comes through a cable just received from Mr. Albert Christopher, the new Deputy President of the South African Indian Congress. Mr. Christopher was one of the volunteers who served as well during the Boer War as during the late War. He is South Africa born and has just returned after finishing his education in England. The cable runs as follows:

> Second reading Liquor Bill now going through Parliament notwithstanding strong protest. Bill seeks deprive three thousand Indians their families and dependents of livelihood ultimately drive them out of country. Bill direct conflict letter spirit Cape Town Agreement. Clear racial legislation. Indians greatly alarmed Government's attitude. If Bill passes Cape Town Agreement smashed. Earnestly appeal your immediate intervention.

Even the respectable South African Press agrees with the opinion of the South African Congress that the Bill violates the Agreement which resulted from the Round Table Conference. That it is aimed even at those who are already earning an honest livelihood in hotels and bars is unquestioned. If the Union Parliament persists in the Bill, it simply means that being the stronger party to the contract, it can safely commit breach of contract whenever it wills. Our hope lies in Sjt. Sastri's gentle diplomacy saving not only the situation, but the honour of the Union Government, the Union Parliament and the white people of South Africa in spite of themselves. He, however, needs energetic support from the Indian Press and the Indian public.

A Parallel from China

A friend sends me a cutting from the *New York Times* containing the report of an interview with Mr. Ku Hung-Ming, one of the most prominent Chinese, referring to the cultural greatness of the Chinese people and its being belittled by foreigners. And referring to the inroads of foreign merchants upon China, Mr. Ku says:

"I was similarly blind when I first returned from my long years abroad," he admits with disarming frankness. "At first I was ashamed to admit I was Chinese; now I am so proud of my heritage that I am conceited enough to think the rest of you are all barbarians.

"You see, our main trouble is economic. You Americans, for instance, thought a great influx of Chinese labourers would upset your industry and lower your standard of living. You acted promptly and shut your door against Chinese.

"But we in China have suffered an invasion of your foreign machines and of cheap machine-made goods, and those things have ruined us, just [as] an influx of several million Chinese coolie labourers would have ruined your industrial scheme.

"When I was a young man, for instance, even the women in our own families spun and wove. At that time fully 100,000,000 Chinese women spun and wove. Then came cheap foreign cotton goods and these 100,000,000 women have no productive life, but must live on the labours of their menfolk. We are prevented from following your example of shutting the door by the fact that the treaties forbid our taking any action. We do not have even tariff autonomy.

"If I were an artist, I would draw you a cartoon which would show you what I think of the unequal treaties.

"Picture a Chinese prone upon the ground and a foreigner standing over him holding him down with his foot. 'Get up,' says the foreigner. 'Take your foot off first,' says the Chinese. 'No, you get up first,' says the foreigner, putting more weight upon the foot."

AJMAL JAMIA FUND

The following sums only have been hitherto received in answer to the appeal in these pages:

Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj	Rs.	1,000-0-0
Sjt. Rameshwardas, Dhulia	,,	51-0-0
,, Pyare Ali, Bombay	,,	100-0-0
Total	Rs.	1,151-0-0

This is as yet a poor response. Often the response to appeals made in these pages is an indication of the manner in which the people receive certain movements. Evidently the strained relations between the two communities are keeping the general body of readers from responding. May I hope that wherever there are men and women who believe in Hindu-Muslim unity, believe in Hakimji as a great patriot, and in the necessity of supporting the Jamia, they will not only themselves soon send in the contributions, but will also canvass them among their friends and neigh-

bours? Every subscription big or small will be acknowledged in these pages.

TO THE FRIENDS IN KARNATAK AND ANDHRA DESH

Inquiries are being made as to whether the proposed tours in these provinces have been altogether abandoned. I may state in answer that, though under pressure from Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande and Deshbhakta Konda Venkatappayya, I have postponed the tours, I have no idea whatsoever of abandoning them altogether. If health permits and God otherwise wills it, I propose to undertake them after the monsoons are over. But it is safe not to build hopes on any fixed season. Sufficient for me to give the assurance that I would like to tour in these and the remaining provinces at an early date, if it is at all possible. Meanwhile those who have already collected purses should send them either to me or to the organizers.

KHADI IN THE PUNJAB IN 1885

I extract the following valuable information that Sjt. Balaji Rao of Coimbatore collects for me from time to time from several books. The extract is taken from a Monograph on the Cotton Manufacture in 1885 by E. B. Francis:[1]

That the remuneration earned by the spinners was low did not baffle the good workers, for, as the author says, they worked during the leisure hours and whatever they earned was so much gained. If the things are different now, it is because the tastes have become vulgarized and foreign cloth, under an insidious system of indirect protection, has been dumped down on this unhappy land.

Young India, 9-2-1928

17. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 11, 1928

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

Don't you worry about my health. Doctors will frighten one. This time the registered blood-pressure does not seem to produce any impression on me. I am keeping fairly [fit]. I have strength to walk, and I only lie on my back because doctors are imperative

[1] The extract is not reproduced here.

and tell me that some blood-pressure cases are most illusive and specially dangerous when the patient himself feels no visible effects.

This letter I am dictating in connection with Ajmal Jamia Fund. Whilst you are in the midst of all the big people, I want you to buttonhole them and get them to subscribe, no matter how much. I fear that there will be little spontaneous response or it will come when noted men and women have subscribed. If I had not become bedridden, I would have done lobbying this side of India. And I have not yet lost hope of being able to do it. I am not at all sure of your scheme of deputations going round succeeding. I know it is cruel to ask you to spare the time when it is occupied between your practice and direct Congress work. But you have got to find it for this work too.

If you have not seen my article "After Hartal?"[1], please look at it. Unless you take up this universal and possible thing, boycott of foreign cloth, the energy created by the boycott of the Statutory Commission will be all waste of effort. Every negative action without corresponding positive action becomes useless in the end.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13069

18. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 11, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I am again on my back, and I suppose these ups and downs will some day decide the final issue. The funny thing about the blood-pressure this time is that I notice nothing myself. But I am obeying the doctors as far as it is possible.

I had your telegram. I was sorry we could not meet before you put yourself in harness again. But I suppose it was inevitable.

Jawahar was telling me that you were keeping none too well. I hope however that you were thoroughly restored during the voyage.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13070

[1] *Vide* pp. 14-5.

19. LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with enclosures. I do continue to hear about the progress of your health through Paul and others. But I was more than pleased to have your own letter and to know that you were on the road to complete recovery and that you were able yourself to write long letters.

Yes, the violence during the Madras hartal was most unfortunate. The slightest relaxation of control precipitates violence.

I had a letter from Mr. Runham Brown. I sent a reply saying that I would not be able to go. I still feel that my work outside is also better done from the Indian platform. It can be said of it that it is still in too experimental a stage to make any confident claim about it, and if anything definite can be said about it with complete confidence, it would be itself a very striking object-lesson in no-war. But I am keeping both the letters for reconsideration. I shall watch also how the blood-pressure behaves, and if I find meanwhile any prompting from the inner voice in the direction of going, I shall not hesitate to say yes.

The youth movement is a decided attraction.

I was delighted to hear from Mrs. Brockway. I am writing to her directly.

Yours sincerely,

A. FENNER BROCKWAY, ESQ.
GENERAL HOSPITAL
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 14943

20. LETTER TO LILLA BROCKWAY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

It was good of you to write to me. I should have cursed myself if I had not made time to go to your husband whilst I was in Madras. It was a severe disappointment to all of us here not to have him during the Congress session, but it was a great joy that he and his companions in the car had such a miraculous escape.

I was much touched to see Mr. Brockway's eyes moistening when his sister mentioned your cable. Such spontaneous demonstrations of human love bring us nearer to divine.

You must try to come to India one of these days. You will excuse this dictated letter, for doctors have advised me to lie on my back.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14237

21. LETTER TO HAROLD F. BING

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your very kind and very warm invitation through Mr. Fenner Brockway. I wish it was possible for me to say straightway 'yes' to you, but there are fundamental difficulties which I have mentioned to Mr. Brockway. However, I am keeping your invitation by me and shall allow it to soak into me, and if I can see my way clear, to accept it. I shall write to you further in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

HAROLD F. BING, ESQ.
THE BRITISH FEDERATION OF YOUTH
421 SENTINEL HOUSE, SOUTHAMPTON ROW
LONDON, W.C. 1

From a photostat: G.N. 1015 and 3770

22. *TALK WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF BARDOLI TALUK*[1]

[Before *February 12, 1928*]

Kalyanji opened the talk, told him that they had practically covered the whole of the taluk, which was unanimous so far as the fight was concerned, but that they would prefer to refuse payment of the increment over the old assessment.

GANDHIJI. I don't quite understand that.

KALYANJI. 22 per cent enhancement has been imposed. The people say they would like to pay the old assessment and refuse the 22 per cent increment.

G. That is most dangerous. Government will fight you with the help of your own money and recover the increment in a moment. No assessment can be paid until the increment is cancelled, and you must plainly say to Government: 'Declare the enhancement cancelled and then take the old assessment which we are prepared to pay.' Are the people prepared to take up this attitude?

K. I am not quite sure about the bigger places like Bardoli or Valod, for the Vanias in these places are naturally afraid that Government might deprive them of their lands and transfer them to their original occupants, the Raniparaj people. But the other villages are quite solid.

G. That's all right. But is their cause just and their case unassailable?

KALYANJI: Certainly. Naraharibhai has demonstrated it in his articles.

G. I do not know. I have not read the articles with care. But remember that you will have to keep the whole country with you, and the first condition is that your cause must be perfectly just. Then there is another point. The people may be ready to fight. But do they know the implications of satyagraha? Supposing Vallabhbhai is removed with the rest of you, will they stand together?

K. That is more than I can say.

[1] Representatives of Bardoli Taluk sought Gandhiji's advice at the request of Vallabhbhai Patel, who was to lead the Bardoli Satyagraha.

G. Well, you will have to ascertain that. But what does Vallabhbhai say?

Sjt. Vallabhbhai had just arrived. He said he had studied the case and had no doubt that the cause was just. Gandhiji said:

Well, then, there is nothing more to be considered. Victory to Gujarat!

The Story of Bardoli, pp. 28-9

23. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 12, 1928

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your postcard. I am glad you won't have to be in Poona much longer now. I seem to be gaining ground—so the doctors think. Personally I feel I have not lost any. Of course I did lose weight, but then I did so with my eyes open. I could not conduct the difficult experiment of reverting to fruits and nuts without having to lose weight. But I am now conducting it under better auspices and with doctors watching. So this little collapse is perhaps an advantage and it has imposed upon me a rest which perhaps I needed.

I note the correction in the date about the spinning in Sind.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13071

24. *LETTER TO MRS. HARKER*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The expenses at the Ashram need not be more than Rs. 20 to 30 per month. But what is more necessary to know is whether you can stand the life of the Ashram. It is so different to all you have been hitherto used to that I should be nervous about your taking to the Ashram life. And now the cold weather on this side of India is practically over. We are having hot afternoons already and I wonder whether you can stand the summer of Sabarmati. Temperature goes up sometimes to 112, even 115. Sabarmati is not very far from Jacobabad, the hottest place in India. Why not reproduce wherever you are the ideals for which the Ashram stands? Then you have the Ashram without its obvious limitations, and you can add too or modify the ideals as much as you like.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. HARKER
3 SONEHRI BAGH
NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13072

25. *LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 12, 1928

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

Your letter has been read to me. There need be no anxiety about my health. So long as God wants some work through this body, it will stand all trials and tests. I am obeying doctors fully and taking complete rest, though personally I do not seem to feel the want of it. I know that you will come whenever I want you, however pressing your other engagements may be. The thought that there are friends ready to help me is itself a great consolation.

At the present moment there are enough nurse friends about me. I seem to, and doctors too, think that I am making steady progress.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13073

26. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Mira has translated your latest letter for me.

My whole soul goes out to you in your grief especially because it comes over a letter which makes you suspect me of hardness of heart. I appreciate your desire to find me correct in all I do and think. I do indeed want to stand well with you, but I must be true to myself if I am to continue to deserve your warm friendship.

Let me first tell you that Mira's letter reflected her own views though they were found to coincide with mine. Neither Mira, so far as I know her, nor I had the remotest idea of judging those two good peasants.[1] Their action was undoubtedly one of heroism. What we had in our minds was the heroism of a war-resister, and from the record sent by you and as it was interpreted to me by Mira, I missed that particular type of heroism which a war-resister demonstrates in his own life. Joan of Arc was a heroine. So were Leonidas and Horatius. But the heroism in each case was of a different type, each noble and admirable in its own sphere.

In the answers given by the peasants, I do not notice any definite repugnance to war as war and a determination to suffer to the uttermost in their resistance to war. These peasant friends, if my recollection serves me right, are heroes representing and defending the simple rustic life. These heroes are no less precious than those of a militant war-resister type. We want to treasure all this heroism, but what I feel is that we will serve the heroes and the cause of truth better if we treated each type separately.

[1] Romain Rolland, in his reply dated March 7, wrote: ". . . I understand what you say regarding those two devout peasants of Savoi. I bow before your reasons, though at the same time I believe that there are very few men and women—at least in Europe—with whom 'war-resistance' is not always mixed with other elements of thought, because almost every thought, be it ever so intense, is not in man completely pure. . ."

You have curiously raised the question of my participation in the late War.[1] It is a legitimate question. I had answered it in the last autobiographical chapter as if in anticipation of your question. Please read it carefully and tell me at your leisure what you think of the argument.[2] I shall treasure your opinion.

Lastly, I do want to reach perfection, but I recognize my limitations, and the recognition is becoming clearer day after day. Who knows in how many places I must be guilty of hardness of heart, and I should not be surprised if you have noticed want of charity in my writings in more places than one. I can only tell you that the lapses are there in spite of my prayerful effort to the contrary. I suppose it was not without reason that the early Christians considered Satan to be not merely an evil principle but evil incarnate. He seems to dominate us in every walk of life and man's mission is to overthrow him from power.

This letter of yours to Mira makes me more and more anxious to see you in the flesh, and there is just a distant hope of my being able to do so this year if I keep good health and if otherwise the inner voice guides me towards Europe. I am seriously considering two invitations, and the desire to meet you may precipitate my decision in favour of accepting those invitations.

Yours sincerely,

ROMAIN ROLLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 14942

[1] *Vide An Autobiography*, Pt. IV, Ch. XXXVIII.

[2] To this Romain Rolland replied: "Pardon me if I say to you that, in spite of all my desire to enter into your thoughts and to approve of them, I simply cannot do so. . . "

27. *ON THEIR TRIAL*

What happened to the students during the Rowlatt Act agitation is repeating itself now. During those precious days, one of them wrote to me that he felt like committing suicide because he was rusticated. A student now writes:

> The students of. . . heard the mother's call and responded to it. We observed hartal on the 3rd. For this courageous deed of ours, we are being fined Rs. 2 per head. The poor students are losing their freeships, half-freeships and scholarships. Please write to Mr. . . . the Principal, or advise him through *Young India*. Tell him we are no criminals, we have committed no crime. Tell him we listened and responded to the mother's call, we saved her, to our utmost, from dishonour. Tell him we are no cowards. Please come forward to our aid.

I cannot follow the advice to write to the Principal. If he is not to lose his 'job', I suppose he has to take some disciplinary measures. So long as educational institutions remain under the patronage of the Government, they will be, as they must be, used for the support of the Government, and the students or the teachers who support anti-Government popular measures must count the cost and take the risk of being dismissed. From the patriot's standpoint, the students did well and bravely in making common cause with the people. They would have laid themselves open to the charge of want of patriotism, if not worse, if they had not responded to the country's call. From the Government standpoint, they undoubtedly did wrong and incurred their severe displeasure. The students cannot blow hot and cold. If they will be with the people's cause, they must hold their scholastic career subservient to the cause and sacrifice it when it comes in conflict with the interest of the country. I saw this quite clearly in 1920 and subsequent experience has confirmed the first impression. There is no doubt that the safest and the most honourable course for the student world is to leave Government schools and colleges at any cost. But the next best course for them is to hold themselves in readiness to be thrown out whenever a conflict occurs between the Government and the people. If they will not be, as they have been elsewhere, leaders themselves in the revolt against the Government, they must at least become staunch and true followers. Let their facing of the consequences be as brave as was their response to the nation's call. Let them not humiliate themselves, let

them not surrender their self-respect in trying to re-enter colleges and schools from which they may have been dismissed. The bravery of their response will be counted as bravado, if it succumbs on the very first trial.

I hear that, during the days preceding the hartal, the students discarded foreign cloth and very largely patronized khadi. Let it not be said of them that this was but a passing show and that they have, on pressure from without or temptation from within, discarded khadi as quickly as they discarded foreign cloth. To me foreign cloth for this country means foreign Government. I wish this was accepted as a self-evident proposition.

Young India, 16-2-1928

28. *MY HEALTH*

It is a matter of great sorrow to me that my health should cause anxiety to many friends. Hitherto I have allowed Mahadev Desai, subject to censorship, to write whatever he has wished about my health, seeing that the break-downs, important or unimportant, occurred whilst I was travelling, and were supposed to be due to fatigue, and because those who were in charge of me during the travels had a responsibility about my bodily condition. But circumstances have now altered. I am having a respite from travels and onerous public duties. I am taking part only to the extent that I wish in reorganizing some of the activities in Gujarat, specially educational, for which I am perhaps predominantly responsible. I have, therefore, felt called upon to take up what has been a hobby of a lifetime, namely, dietetic experiments. They are to me as important as many of the most important activities which have engrossed me from time to time, and it was in the course of these experiments that the present so-called break-down has occurred. The alarming registrations of doctors' instruments have had no response in my own feeling. But I have accepted the statement of medical friends that very often blood-pressure patients feel no evil effects, although they may be stealthily present in the body and must, therefore, be guarded against. Happily, however, even these instruments registered last Sunday a very great improvement, a fall from 214mm. systolic to 178 mm. and a rise from 120mm. [*sic*] diastolic to 118 mm. I am also taking the rest prescribed by Dr. Haribhai Desai and his medical companions, and carrying on my dietetic experiments under their observations and guidance. Dr. Muthu who seems to have made a special study of dietetics is also kindly guiding me by correspondence.

Having given all this information, I would implore newspaper correspondents to curb their pen and kindly to forget me and my health for the time being. And I would ask anxious friends not to worry about my health, accepting my assurance that I am in no hurry to die and that, therefore, I shall be taking all the care of my body that is humanly possible for me, and is consistent with the ideals to which the body is dedicated and which I hold to be more precious than the body. Let the friends rest assured that, if the nation has any use for this body of mine, it is because a serious attempt has been made for many a long year to hold it in trust for those ideals. I would ask them also to share my belief, which I hold even at the risk of being dubbed a fatalist, that not one hair of anyone's body can be touched without His will and that when He has no use for our bodies, He defies all the care, attention and skill that money, prestige, patriotism, friendship and what not can summon to one's assistance. This belief does not mean that I do not want to take advantage of the assistance that medical friends all over India ungrudgingly and most generously render to me. I take that assistance gladly and faithfully. For God has given me no inkling of His intentions, but He has imposed upon me the duty of taking care of the body consistently with other more imperative obligations which, in my opinion, He has imposed upon me in common with the rest of humanity.

Young India, 16-2-1928

29. *FLOOD-RELIEF WORK IN SIND*

I gladly publish the following first instalment[1] of notes by Prof. N. R. Malkani about the distress in Sind which was truly no less acute than in Gujarat. But as I have already remarked before, Gujarat attracted the widest attention not merely because of its being the store-house of India's donors, but also, and perhaps more, because it found an army of workers under Vallabhbhai Patel ready and determined to handle and organize the task of relieving distress. Sind no less than Orissa suffered because they could not produce such an organization. But no lack of organization can be allowed to excuse any avoidable misery. The public should know that Prof. Malkani is himself personally organizing the relief operations under the supervision of the Central Committee which, I hope, is giving him all the assistance he may need.

Young India, 16-2-1928

[1] This is not reproduced here.

30. CORRESPONDENCE

If for nothing else, I cannot refrain from publishing the foregoing[1] for its subtle wit and sarcasm. Unfortunately for me, I am responsible for the phrase 'blot on Hinduism', notwithstanding my claim, often repudiated I know, to be a sanatani Hindu. If the institution of war, in spite of its being contrary to the spirit of the Christian teaching, may be said to be a blot upon Christianity because war is universal in Christendom, untouchability may safely be regarded as a blot upon Hinduism in spite of the contention of a growing number of Hindus that untouchability has no place in true Hinduism. If the expression pains some Hindus, it is a healthy sign. When it pains the majority of Hindus and they repudiate the charge, there will be no occasion to repeat it. And if it is a blot, why may not a Mussalman who believed in the truth and purity of Hinduism hold with his Hindu co-member that it is a blot?

Young India, 16-2-1928

31. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 18, 1928

MY DEAR C. R.,

Herewith Kelappan's letter. I have asked him to discuss his scheme with you. Whatever you think is feasible should be done. You will not hesitate to sanction anything for fear of funds being exhausted. All I am anxious about is that whatever work is done is substantial and honest.

I hope you are now not worrying about my health. I have not yet taken any vow about the milk and I am not going to do anything unless I find the experiment to be absolutely successful.

[1] The letter, dated February 9, from S.D. Nadkarni is not reproduced here. The correspondent had taken exception to the expression "blot on Hinduism" with reference to untouchability in a resolution on reorganization of the Gujarat Vidyapith. He had suggested that it could be changed to "blot on humanity" or deleted altogether.

And not only I am carefully watching myself, but so also are the Ahmedabad doctors. It is open to them to veto the experiment at any time they like and I have promised to stop it. But I want you, instead of thinking of somehow dodging and making me to take milk, find out doctors or physicians who will help me to arrive at a proper, purely vegetarian diet which will be more than a substitute for milk. I am sure it is perfectly possible. Do please therefore think over my suggestion.

Have you heard from Singapore friends at all? If we are to go, I should like to start during the first week of April, because the hot weather commences in right earnest in April in Ahmedabad and it would be better to avoid it. And then there is the talk of a visit to Burma from Singapore. I should like to negotiate it and, if that also is to be done, there is very little time left. And then there are two invitations from Europe to go there during July and August.[1] I am inclined to accept them. The idea is cooking in my brain. One is from the World's Youth Peace Movement. It seems to be an important movement managed by a good organization. You may also consider the propriety or otherwise of accepting these invitations.

Lakshmi must not have a relapse.

From a photostat: S.N. 13063

[1] *Vide* "Letter to A. Fenner Brockway", 11-2-1928.

32. *LETTER TO AYLMER MAUDE*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I shall consider it a privilege to do whatever I can in connection with Tolstoy's works being popularized in India. I hope at an early date to notice your letter in the pages of *Young India*.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

M. AYLMER MAUDE
HON. ORGANIZING SECRETARY
THE TOLSTOY SOCIETY
CHELMSFORD (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: C.W. 4514. Courtesy: Aylmer Maude

33. *LETTER TO ESTHER MENON*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 18, 1928

MY DEAR CHILD,

I had your two letters under one cover. It did appear to me that you had forgotten me entirely, and yet I knew that that wasn't possible. . . .[2] was looking a picture of health when I saw her at Madras, and she told me all about you.

You must have heard about the relapse in my health. I am now under strict orders not to do any serious work involving mental or physical strain. Except for spinning, therefore, I am on my back. I am dictating this whilst spinning. But there is no cause for anxiety. I am getting better and hope soon to be allowed to move about.

[1] *Vide* "Tolstoy Centenary", 1-3-1928.
[2] The original is damaged here.

Yes. The Ashram remains what you have seen it to be. The population is daily increasing and we have too few houses to accommodate all the inmates.

I am asking for a complimentary copy of *Young India* to be sent to your address, and I shall see that as many back numbers as can be spared are also sent.

I am so glad that all of you are flourishing in health. What is Menon doing in England? Please send my love to him when . . .[1] whom you know is in the Ashram just now. She has come to pass a few days on her return from Delhi where she had gone to attend a women's conference. Mirabai is here and keeping very good health indeed.

With love,

BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
14 ASYLVEY
TAAROAK, DENMARK

From a photostat: S.N. 14241

34. LETTER TO VIOLET

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 18, 1928

MY DEAR VIOLET,

I have your letter. I am very glad you have written to me so frankly and fully. Bad though this proposed wedding of the ex-Maharajah of Indore is, I would like you to understand the distinction between that wedding and the Simon Commission. The Simon Commission is a public thing, whereas the wedding is a private affair. A wedding cannot affect the future of three hundred millions of India but the doings of the Simon Commission are calculated for better or for worse to affect the future of the whole of India. You can now understand the public resentment over the Simon Commission. Nobody thinks anything of the misdeeds of private Englishmen or other white men. But when an Englishman does anything wrong in his official capacity, it is immediately resented and quite properly too. If you have not yet

[1] The original is damaged here.

understood or do not appreciate the distinction I have made, please write to me.

You ask me whether I would again come to Ceylon if one lakh rupees worth of khadi is taken up by the people there. I have no doubt that the generous people of Ceylon are quite capable of taking up more than a lakh rupees worth of khadi because there is nothing strange about [it], but what will induce me to come back to Ceylon is another donation to khadi. Buying of khadi is merely exchanging, valuable as that is, and donation to khadi enables me to widen the sphere of work among the poorest classes.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI VIOLET
C/O MISS LILY MOTHUKRISHNA
CASA-DEL-MAR
ALEXANDRIA ROAD
WELLAWATTE

From a photostat: S.N. 13075

35. *HAKIM AJMAL KHAN MEMORIAL*

Readers know that this memorial is with regard to the Nationalist Muslim University in Delhi. This Vidyapith is not meant exclusively for Muslims. Hindus may also join it. The teachers too are not exclusively Muslim; Hindus and Christians also are there. However, as in the case of the Gujarat Vidyapith, where the students are mostly Hindus, since Muslim students rarely join it, so at the Jamia Millia too, few Hindus are enrolled. If the authorities of the Gujarat Vidyapith could be blamed for the reluctance of Muslim students the authorities of the Muslim university can also be blamed for the reluctance of Hindu students to join them. Considering the present vitiated atmosphere we should be content and grateful to God if the management and the staff of both the institutions are free from rancour and mutually accommodating. It is my belief that just as the Gujarat Vidyapith will contribute substantially towards the attainment of swaraj and will help to safeguard it, that is, in implementing such constructive programmes as Hindu-Muslim unity, etc., so too will this Vidyapith at Delhi. This prophecy of mine may or may not come true but if we owe anything to Hakim Saheb, and if it brings us credit to have a memorial to him for ever with us, we should all, to the best of our abilities, contribute to this Fund. The Fund is growing at less than

a snail's pace, from which I gather that the Gujaratis do not respond to this cause as they do to other causes. I regard it my duty to say that this is not the correct attitude. Those who wish to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity should help this cause. Everyone is inclined to contribute to a popular cause. People remain indifferent to a fund which is not popular, though it be beneficial in the long run, if there is no one to rouse them. This is my appeal to that indifferent class. It is not that the readers of *Navajivan* always encourage only what is popular. The readers of *Navajivan* have contributed in other ways, if not in the form of money, to funds that were not popular but would increase people's strength. They must now show that liberal spirit and power of discretion. Let not the Jamia Millia be crushed between the two opposing forces. Since the Jamia Millia does not nourish the present atmosphere of hatred, the general Muslim masses appear indifferent towards it, and if the Hindus too should be indifferent under the presumption that Muslims alone should support it, the Jamia Millia would be nowhere and Hakimji's memorial would meet with the same fate. It is the special duty of Swarajists, Hindus as well as Muslims, not to let this happen. I hope the readers of *Navajivan* will observe this dharma. I suggest donors should not rest content after giving in their personal contributions but should also try to collect as much as possible from their neighbours.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-2-1928

36. TO THE PEASANTS OF BARDOLI

There is not a corner of India familiar with the word 'swaraj' which is not also familiar with Bardoli. The country has, therefore, a right to expect something distinctive and courageous in all the tasks that are undertaken by this taluk. You have taken the very grave step of offering satyagraha. You have now no alternative but to prove yourselves worthy of it. No one could have found fault with you if you had not taken that step. However, having once taken it, you will make yourselves an object of ridicule in the eyes of the whole of India if you beat a retreat now. No one can blame Bardoli for the postponement of the fight for swaraj that it had pioneered. People in a far-off province committed an act of indiscretion and the Bardoli movement had to be postponed. I have not the slightest doubt that it was all to the good. However, on this occasion, I think it is proper to remind you that thereafter

you have not been keeping to the extent you should your vows about khadi, untouchability and so on. And, because of this laxity on your part, I have my doubts about how far you will adhere to the pledge you have taken this time. I hope you will dispel this fear by your determined conduct.

Shri Vallabhbhai Patel has given you a clear warning. It is not in his hands to make a success of your struggle. The key to success is in your own hands. Even if he goes to the gallows, Vallabhbhai cannot fulfil your pledge. As the saying goes: "One cannot go to heaven unless one dies." So also one has to fulfil one's own pledges. I do not think there are two opinions about the justice of your cause. If, however, you do not have the strength to prove it you will not triumph despite its justice. If you understand it, rather than till the land only to pay the *vighoti*[1] it would be saving yourselves a great deal of trouble if those who collect this tax confiscated your land. If the Government will not listen to you and you do not bow down to them—and if the Government aims at ruining you, it will not send you to jails, but will rather seize your property. As in Kheda, here too they would confiscate your utensils and your land. Nevertheless, you have one invaluable thing which they cannot attach and that is your soul, your self-respect. If you put your person and all your property in one scale and your self-respect in the other, the latter will always be found heavier. Satyagraha is the *mantra* for safeguarding it. Victory is yours if you are prepared to withstand whatever loss you may incur while safeguarding it and you will prove worthy of having a leader like Vallabhbhai; moreover, you yourselves will be included in the category of the courageous. You must see to it that by fulfilling your pledge you enhance your own prestige as well as that of Vallabhbhai, Gujarat and the whole of India.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-2-1928

[1] Land revenue

37. LETTER TO DR. C. MUTHU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

A son of a valued jeweller friend has a tubercular bone. He has been treated in a sanatorium in Solon from where he is now being brought to Bombay. The father would now like to place his son under your treatment if you would handle the case. He can be sent anywhere you may advise. If you think that he should be examined by you in Bombay before you could finally decide, the father is well able to bear the expenses. I shall thank you if you can let me know by wire your advice in the matter, and in order to save time, repeat it to Sjt. Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri, 7 Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay, whose telegraphic address is "Morality".

I do want to write to you about my diet, but of this later. I seem to be doing well.

Yours sincerely,

DR. C. MUTHU
EGMORE
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 13076; also G.N. 1271

38. LETTER TO ALICE MCKAY KELLY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

What you tell me and what I read about the poisonous influence of *Mother India* distresses me, but I take comfort in the thought that untruth is always overcome by truth and that that book is full of untruth.

I know that Mr. Dhan Gopal Mukerjee is doing good work.

I have forwarded your cheque for five dollars to the Manager, *Young India*, and I hope you are now receiving your copy.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. ALICE MCKAY KELLY
130 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 14244

39. LETTER TO ROHINI POOVIAH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 21, 1928

MISS ROHINI POOVIAH,

Your letter was an unexpected pleasure. As I am under orders not to work and have still to lie on my back as much as possible, I must not dictate much beyond telling you that I have often thought of you and wanted to know what you were doing. I do hope that you will get something suitable in the near future. Do please keep me informed of your movements and I shall forgive all your past crimes. Sita has promised to look in now and then. Are you keeping good health?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13077

40. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

Tuesday [February 21, 1928][1]

BHAI RAMESHWARDASJI,

Your letter. Certainly, do leave the boys at the Wardha school. They will be well looked after in the Ashram. Be at peace by imprinting Ramanama in your heart.

I am keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 194

[1] From the postmark

41. LETTER TO NORA S. BAILLIE[1]

February 22 [1928][2]

I have your letter for which I thank you. In reply I can only say we must each approach and worship God in accordance with the light He has vouchsafed to us.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 14222

42. LETTER TO DEVI WEST

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 22, 1928

The card you mention in your letter is now missing. You must please therefore send the one you have. I am glad you are now getting *Indian Opinion* regularly. Ramdas was married now nearly a month ago. He and his wife are leaving tomorrow for Rajkot where he expects to settle down. You must have read the account of the wedding in the pages of *Young India*.[3] It was a magnificently simple affair. It could not have been made simpler.

I am personally feeling quite all right, but doctors being anxious have imposed complete rest on me. I must not, therefore, dictate a long letter. Devdas is here. He is going to Delhi shortly. Chhaganlal has gone to Orissa to serve the poor people there.

Yours sincerely,

MISS DEVI WEST
23 GEORGE STREET
LOUTH, LINC.
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 14246

[1] Wife of the Rev. A. A. Baillie, Superintendent of the Indian Mission in Natal

[2] This note was in reply to a letter of the addressee dated December 12, 1927.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 499-500.

43. *LETTER TO HENRY NEIL*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1].

Under British rule, millions of children are starving for want of nourishing food and they are shivering in winter for want of sufficient clothing. And this I say not of the cities of India, which contain but a microscopic minority of the population of India, but I say this without fear of contradiction about the seven hundred thousand villages of the country scattered over a surface 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad.

I suppose your first question 'under non-Christian Religions' is included in the second. But, if your first question relates to India before British rule, I can only give you my inference that the little ones were infinitely happier than they are now under British rule.

Your third question is difficult to answer. Which Jesus have you in mind? The Jesus of history? Not being a critical student of history, I do not know the Jesus of history. Do you mean the Jesus whom Christian England and Christian Europe represent? If so, your question is, it seems to me, already answered. If you mean the mystical Jesus of Sermon on the Mount who has still to be found, I suppose the condition of India's children will be a trifle better than it is now when men conform to the precept of Love.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

JUDGE HENRY NEIL, ESQ.
C/O AMERICAN EXPRESS CO.
RUE SCRIBE
PARIS–FRANCE

From a photostat: S.N. 14248

[1] Dated January 3, 1928; it read: ". . . Please tell me the condition of the poor children of India, under their non-Christian religions, and under British rule. Then in contrast please tell me what you think would be the condition of these children if Jesus was in full control of India and the people followed His teachings. . . ." (S.N. 14224).

44. LETTER TO L. LE MONS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
[*February 22, 1928*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 2nd December which was received some days ago with a postal order for Rs. 1,190. Please convey my thanks to the donors for their donation for khadi as also for their assurance that a similar donation will be renewed from year to year.

Yours sincerely,

MONS. L. LE MONS
BACLIEU
FRENCH COCHIN CHINA

From a photostat: S.N. 14249

45. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 22, 1928

MY DEAR PROFULLA BABU,

I have been able to reach your letter only today lying on my bed, though, accurately speaking, I am just now not on my bed, but at the spinning-wheel for which and which alone and for prayer I am allowed to leave it. And whilst I am spinning or whilst I am lying on my back, I dictate some little correspondence and in this condition I am trying to overtake arrears. In doing so, I came upon your letter.

I am glad about the compromise[2]. I hope that now there will be no more violent scenes.

[1] The letter was dictated by Gandhiji in English on February 22 and given to Mirabehn to translate into French. The French version was signed by Gandhiji on February 24.

[2] Arrived at between the Hindus and the Muslims at Comilla as a result of which all cases pending in courts were withdrawn

What you say about the Congress is largely true.[1] And those who believe in constructive work and non-violence have to counteract the talkative activities and falsities by silent, dignified, unrevengeful work and that alone. I do not make of the Congress a fetish, but the oldest political institution we have in the country has to be approached with becoming respect and tenderest feeling. All public institutions have their ups and downs. Has not the House of Commons got its hypocrisy and humbug? I know that it is no model for us, but for the British nation, modelled as it is, it would be wrong to decry the House of Commons. They can only mend it wherever it is possible, unless there are Englishmen who consider the civilization that the House of Commons represents is worthless. Personally, I still cling to the ideal that the Congress represents, and, therefore, generally observe silence where I cannot serve and I ask you and co-workers who are non-violent non-co-operators to do likewise. We have to be non-violent even towards erring co-workers, erring Congressmen.

Yours sincerely,

DR. PROFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH
ABHOY ASHRAM
COMILLA

From a photostat: S.N. 13046

46. *FIGHT SQUARE IF YOU MUST*[2]

The foregoing is dealt with below. The headline 'Fight Square If You Must' is, in my opinion, a more correct rendering of निदान धर्मयुद्ध करा instead of 'At Least Wage a Religious War' in the authorized translation.

Young India, 23-2-1928

[1] The addressee, in a letter dated January 19, had written: "Humbuggism is writ large on the Congress . . . . The Congress President and the working General Secretary are the two best illustrations of the doctrine that 'we are a nation of talkers'. . . . Personally I have lost all faith in the Congress which I consider a place for bluffers" (S.N. 14046).

[2] This was an article published in *Swarajya*, 15-9-1927, a translation of which was published in *Young India*. For Gandhiji's comments, *vide* the following item.

47. REMINDING OF OLD TIMES

Sjt. Shankarrao Dev and Sjt. V. B. Harolikar were convicted the other day at Poona under Section 124-A and sentenced to undergo imprisonment for two years with hard labour. There were two charges against them: waging war against the King (Section 121) and attempting to excite disaffection against the Government established by law in British India (Section 124-A). Sjt. Dev as editor of *Swarajya* wrote the article which was the subject-matter of the offence and Sjt. Harolikar was the publisher. I print elsewhere the authorized translation of the offending article as produced before the court by the prosecution. Though it admits of improvement, it cannot be called an unfair presentation of the original.

The accused will not be defended by counsel though free assistance was volunteered by Dadasaheb Karandikar and other lawyers of distinction. Friends advised them to be defended. They were told that everybody nowadays sought legal advice without any slur being cast on them. But these non-co-operators were adamant. They did not care what others did. They were non-co-operators on principle and therefore did not wish to listen to any advice based on prudential considerations. I knew Sjt. Dev in Yeravda. He with Sjt. Dastane had undertaken a severe fast from which it was difficult for me to wean them. I tender my congratulations to these friends on their firmness in abiding by their own convictions. For I am convinced that of such will the Kingdom of Swaraj be made. They have undoubtedly brought swaraj nearer by their crystal-like sacrifice. Let no one think that such solitary individual sacrifice has no place in national upbuilding, or that it does not produce great consequences. Indeed, it is the purest sacrifice alone that will count in the end. It lays the surest and the purest foundation of swaraj.

The article is undoubtedly written to promote disaffection against the existing Government. To promote such disaffection is the bounden duty of every nationalist. Every Congressman is, I hope, an avowed enemy of the existing Government. We have no quarrel with men, but if we are worthy of swaraj, we must destroy the existing system of Government by all legitimate and peaceful means. The recent debate in the Assembly on the Statutory Commission was an object-lesson in disaffection in which all parties,

be it said to their eternal credit, whole-heartedly joined. The late Harchandrai Vishandas risked his life in travelling to Delhi for the sake of registering his vote in favour of disaffection. One daily comes across stronger articles than Dev's in point of disaffection. His is a reasoned appeal to Hindus and Mussalmans to disown the protection of a Government that enslaves the country and if fight they must, fight fairly, squarely, honourably. I have read the article more than once and whilst I may not use the same language, there is nothing in the argument that I cannot adopt. A prejudiced critic may cavil at the verse quoted from the *Mahabharata*. But, read together with the context, its meaning is clear. We have no King. We have a rule masquerading under the sacred name of law. Rulers are many. They come and go. The rule abides. But it is a corrupt, mischievous, soul-destroying rule which has to be ended at any cost. The cost that Dev and people like him are prepared to pay has to be consistent with their creed of non-violence. They seek to establish the rule of real law not by killing other people, however misguided or cruel they may be, but by being themselves killed, if need be, in the attempt. This is the necessary limitation imposed upon them by their very conception of swaraj. It is, therefore, most difficult for me to understand why these two innocent workers were singled out for prosecution, or shall I call it, persecution. If they are fit for imprisonment, Lala Lajpat Rai and company are surely fit for transportation, if nothing worse. If it be said that the Assembly gives members privileges for statutory crimes which ordinary mortals outside do not enjoy, there is then, perhaps, no one who is guilty of such calculated and deliberate disaffection towards the 'Government established by law' as I am. The whole of my being is worked in order to achieve the destruction of this Government and to that end to spread disaffection as wide as possible, and I think I can lay a fair claim to having a somewhat larger audience than Dev and Harolikar. But real consistency, justice and courage are hardly to be expected of governments that are based upon exploitation sustained by violence.

Young India, 23-2-1928

48. HANDLOOM v. SPINNING-WHEEL

Apropos of the contention often thoughtlessly advanced that the handloom is the only thing worth preserving and that it can only be preserved through the use of mill-spun yarn, Sjt. C. Balaji Rao writes:

> An effective answer to those who, in order to belittle the charkha, would exalt the handloom, is given here. Lord Curzon was voicing the opinions of his departmental scientific advisers when he declared at the Delhi Durbar that it was inevitable that the handloom should be superseded by the powerloom, just as the hand punkah was being superseded by the electric fan.

Of course, Lord Curzon's dictum need not be accepted as a conclusive answer if the longevity of the handloom can be sustained through mill yarn or any other means save the spinning-wheel. And these pages, I hope, are daily making it clear that hand-spinning can save the handloom in spite of the prediction of Lord Curzon. Indeed, if the wheel regains its ancient status in our national life, the handloom and many other domestic industries must revive automatically.

Young India, 23-2-1928

49. THE ORIGIN OF IT

I observe that newspaper paragraphs have been going round that I have predicted my own death by the 12th of March next and that, as a consequence, I am in a despondent mood. It is also stated that I am my own astrologer. I would have passed over this delicious morsel of news but for the fact that many anxious friends have taken it seriously and have, therefore, been upset. If the enquiring friends had only followed my advice never to depend upon newspaper paragraphs, but always to ascertain, at their source, the truth of statements seen in the Press, they would have been spared all that anxiety. The correspondent who set the news in motion could also have spared the enquirers considerable anxiety if he had been good enough to test the truth of statements made by him. But if the correspondents became more scrupulous about statements they may make, their occupation would be largely gone. I may then state for the information of friends that I am

not an astrologer, I know nothing of the science of astrology and that I consider it to be a science, if it is a science, of doubtful value, to be severely left alone by those who have any faith in Providence. Nor am I in a despondent mood, despondency being foreign to my nature. What precisely, however, did happen was this. When I was convicted six years ago and was asked what I thought about the prospects of swaraj, I said that it was highly likely that there was the hand of God in the limit of six years and that during that time either we should win swaraj or that I should die and that six years' time was long enough time for the country to win her freedom. This statement was based upon an observation of the state of things as then prevailed in India. I never attached any importance to it beyond this that I should myself leave no stone unturned to contribute so far as an individual could to the attainment of our freedom. The statement was on a par with the conditional statement made by me in 1920 about attainment of swaraj within one year.[1] That statement has served the purpose, if of nothing else, of giving satisfaction to my critics of laughing at my folly and to me that of seeing a tremendous effort being made by the country during that eventful year. I did not hesitate to say at the end of the year, when the Congress was held in Ahmedabad, that whilst we had not been able to achieve statutory swaraj, the freedom that politically-minded India gave itself and the unity that seemed to exist among the various communities amounted to substantial swaraj, and that if the people had carried out the conditions mentioned by me at Calcutta and Nagpur, they could have even attained statutory swaraj within the year. But even as I remained unaffected, in spite of the failure to attain statutory swaraj within the year specified, so do I remain unaffected in spite of the approaching termination of six years which, by the by, is not the 12th of March but the 17th of March next.[2] Not only am I not preparing for the imminent approach of the dissolution of my body, but I am making every effort to put it in as good order and condition as is possible, and have already fixed some provisional appointments for the coming summer and the rainy season. After all the relevant portion of my talk six years ago, twice repeated to friends, was the attainment of India's freedom. Nothing depends upon the death of an individual, be he ever so great, but much depends upon the freedom of India. Let us, therefore, all forget

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 270-3, and also Vol. XIX, Appendix I.

[2] Gandhiji was sentenced to six years' imprisonment on March 18, 1922; *vide* Vol. XXIII, pp. 110-20.

individuals and concentrate upon attaining that precious freedom which will never be showered upon us from Downing Street or elsewhere, but which can be ours for the taking any day even inside of the 17th of March. No great preparation save a mental revolution is necessary for us—Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians and Jews and others—to feel as one indivisible nation and as having a common stake in the country, nor is more than a mental revolution required for Hindus to forget that anyone is to be considered superior to any other and to regard the so-called 'untouchables' to be their own kith and kin, nor is much effort required if we but make the resolve to achieve complete boycott of foreign cloth. I repeat what I have said so often, at the risk of exciting laughter, that if we achieve this triple programme, no power on earth can prevent us from attaining our birthright. It is for us to work out our own salvation as it is in us to compass our own undoing.

Young India, 23-2-1928

50. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 23, 1928

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. The newspapers wholly exaggerate the real thing. So far as I am aware, there is nothing wrong with me. Of course, I am weak because of my non-milk fruitarian experiment. But I am under strict medical observation and making the experiment under their watch and with their permission. There is therefore not the slightest cause for anxiety.

I am sorry about your eyes. You must not work them beyond their capacity. Mahadev just now lives between Bardoli and Sabarmati. He is helping Vallabhbhai. He went to Bardoli last night and won't return before Monday morning.

You will see something from me in the current issue of *Young India* with reference to the 12th of March also.[1] Really newspaper reports do more harm than good. But I must not give you a long letter. Doctors want me to take complete rest and I am carrying out their instructions almost to the letter. I write or dic-

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

tate just a little correspondence and confine myself to editing *Young India* and *Navajivan*, and for the most part remain lying on bed except for spinning, attendance at the prayer meetings and a few minutes' walk early in the morning and in the evening.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI URMILA DEVI
KALIGHAT

From a photostat: S.N. 13081

51. LETTER TO GAURISHANKER BHARGAVA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 23 [*1928*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

It is really not possible for me to attend the wedding. Apart from every other thing, doctors' instructions are peremptory. But I am glad about the proposed wedding. I hope that the ceremony will pass off without a hitch and that the bride and bridegroom will have many happy years of useful service to the country.

Ramdas is not here, and it is not convenient for Devdas to leave Sabarmati just now.

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT GAURISHANKER BHARGAVA
'PHUL NIVAS'
CIVIL LINES
AJMER

From a microfilm: S.N. 13082

[1] This letter has been found placed among 1928 papers.

52. LETTER TO BOYD W. TUCKER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 24, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your very delightful letter which I deeply appreciate. I must not however accept your advice. 'Resist not evil' with me has never meant passive resistance. The word 'passive resistance' I have described as a misnomer for the resistance which I have known and offered. The paraphrase of 'resist not evil' means resist not evil with evil, and therefore necessarily means resist evil with good. And, if at the present moment, I do not seem to be actively resisting evil, it is a mere appearance. For, if you are a constant reader of *Bhagavad Gita*, you will recall the passage, "He who sees action in inaction and inaction in action sees truly."[1] Or is there not the corresponding English saying "He also serves who waits and prays" or something like that? Anyway such is absolutely my position today. If I could see my way clear leading to boycott movement, do not imagine for one moment that I would sit still for a single moment. But the way is not clear. It may clear any day. I want a living faith on the part of known workers in the boycott as I have prescribed from time to time in the pages of *Young India*. I am positive that no other boycott can possibly succeed, as I am equally positive that this boycott must succeed if there is enough work behind it. Huge demonstrations that have been taking place in Calcutta are good in their way, but not good enough for me. There is no reality behind them. They have their use too, but they cannot enthuse me as an active soldier.

I hope I am clear. If not, do please tackle me again. I am anxious for you to understand me and my movement through and through.

Yours sincerely,

REV. BOYD W. TUCKER
COLLINS HIGH SCHOOL
140 DHARAMTALA STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13084

[1] IV. 18

53. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 25, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I did indeed know that Congress Committees were practically sleeping. It would be a great thing if you can put life into them without giving rise to any suspicion about your notice.

What is this British goods boycott demonstration? And what are these ten thousand volunteers? I see Dr. Ray also has been in this thing. Please let me know the inwardness of this movement.

I do not at all mind your having gone third class if it agrees with you. I am glad you are giving Kuhne's baths to Nikhil. Why not consult Bose. He is a water-cure specialist. You know he had an institution in Bow Bazaar where I used to go for my treatment. At that time Bose was away, but Mazmudar used to give me massage and electric bath. Often the simple remedy succeeds where specialists fail.

The meaning you have given to the word '*sankara*' is original, but thoroughly in keeping with my definition of 'varna', and, after all, my definition is the literal definition of the Veda. The third chapter is undoubtedly the key chapter of the *Gita*. The first two are introductory and the last fifteen a commentary. I think I told you that for some time now in the Ashram we have been reciting the *Gita* every day, the whole of it being finished every fortnight, Chapters VII and VIII, XII and XIII, XIV and XV, and XVI and XVII being recited each pair one day.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13085

54. LETTER TO Y. BHASKARE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 25, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am very sorry I am under strict medical orders not to take up any new burdens however slight they may be and even to reduce the existing responsibilities to the lowest possible minimum. I do not therefore in this circumstance comply with your request.

Yours sincerely,

MISS Y. BHASKARE
WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION
742 NEAR PETIT HALL
POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13087

55. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 25, 1928

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I have opened your telegram to Mahadev. As I know nothing about your correspondence with him, I am not taking any action upon it. Mahadev is at present in Bardoli. He returns on Monday at the latest when he will tell me all about your telegram and I shall do whatever is needful.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMACHANDRAN
NARAYANATH THAIKAD
TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 13589

56. LETTER TO REVASHANKER JHAVERI

SABARMATI,
February 25, 1928

RESPECTED REVASHANKERBHAI,

I have Dr. Muthu's wire today; I sent you one[1] on receiving it, and you must have got it. If Dhiru has arrived by now, I think it advisable that you should wire to Dr. Muthu that he should come. He is right in saying that he cannot come to any conclusion without an examination. I do not know what his fee is, but whatever it is, it is necessary that you should cheerfully pay it.

My health is better. But the doctors still keep me in bed. hope you are well.

On Thakore Saheb's request, Shri Parnerkar, who knows veterinary science, was sent from here to examine his cattle and explain the scientific method of feeding them.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1272

57. WHO WILL RESCUE THIS HUMAN COW?

A gentleman, nearly 70 years old, belonging to the Brahmabhatt caste was married four times. All four wives are dead. He has no son, only a daughter who is fifteen. She has already been married. He now wishes to marry for the fifth time in order to have someone to run his household and fulfil his desire for a son. This gentleman has been abroad. He held a decent post in the Gaekwar's State. He has lost his eyesight owing to cataract. This, much-married old man is waiting for some cruel father who is prepared to sell his daughter. Some young men of the Brahmabhatt community are trying to save the meek cow from being sent in this way to the slaughter-house. One of them wrote a letter to the old man in order to persuade him not to commit such an act. The gentleman has replied to it at length. A copy of this has been sent to me. I give below extracts[2] from it:

[1] This telegram is not available.

[2] Not translated here

I publish this letter at the risk of being considered foolish. If there is an absence of feeling for young girls in the Brahmabhatt community, if sensitive people in the community lack courage and if there is no such thing as public opinion in it, no one will be able to prevent this ill-matched union. However, the handful of kind-hearted young men or women belonging to that community must not neglect their duty. Reform, if it is to be carried out in a peaceful manner, can be carried out only through love and patience. We must put up with anger in any form if it is the result of self-interest. We should not be dazzled by anyone trying to impress by his knowledge. Within the last one year, two such marriages could be prevented through diligence and by arousing public opinion. An engagement that had already taken place was broken off whereas in this instance there has only been talk of an engagement. If public opinion can be created the meek cow is likely to be rescued from being slaughtered.

Let us now examine the letter from this gentleman, who had been to England. I am unable to understand what he intends to prove by giving instances of men becoming fathers at an advanced age. His arguments are the same old ones that have always been advanced by sinners. In novels, we have come across murderers describing the benefits of murder in beautiful language. And we have also come across robbers singing praises of their deeds. These acts may well have benefited those who committed them; but they have not benefited the world. Let us take the practice of ill-matched unions. In the instances which have been cited in the above extract, the men concerned may well have seen in it advantage to themselves. However, these old men of experience who are motivated by self-interest and a desire to gratify their lust are misinterpreting these instances in trying to get their own acts approved. This gentleman does not have the time and does not feel the need to think what these young girls must have thought when marrying these old men, how often they must have sighed. If one old man has the right to marry a girl of thirteen or fifteen, all old men should have this right and, if all of them were to follow this practice, we can easily imagine what consequences it would have on the people. Nowhere in the world have wise men been known to commend ill-matched unions. They have been condemned in all countries and in India we actually see the many evil consequences that follow from them. Hence, I hope this gentleman would review his own letter, written in an angry and impulsive mood, in a new light and gain control over his lust. And, if he cannot do it, he should look for a widow who is prepared to marry him of her own free will.

The craving for a male offspring needs to be given up. It cannot be said that this desire is always noble. Amongst a people where the birth and death ratio is regularly balanced it is noble to restrain rather than indulge the desire for a son. In India today because we are slaves, everyone is in a state of fear, and because we have lost the capacity to protect ourselves, our relatives as well as our property, I regard it as a sin to beget children.

Now about the desire to be nursed. What a misconceived idea that only one's own people can render this help. I regard it as the limit of audacity to grab an innocent girl by bribing or luring her father and then regarding her as one's own. Instead of calling that girl one's own, it would be nearer the truth to say that 'a slave girl has been bought'. As for service one can still get good loyal servants if one is prepared to pay well. I wish to leave aside now the other atrocious ideas in the letter. If he happens to read this article, I humbly request him to calmly reflect on it and save himself from the misadventure on which he is about to embark.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 26-2-1928

58. *STUDENTS' NOBLE SATYAGRAHA*[1]

In referring to the universality of satyagraha I have time and again observed in these columns that it is capable of application in the social no less than in the political field. It may equally be employed against Government, society, or one's own family, father, mother, husband or wife, as the case may be. For it is the beauty of this spiritual weapon that, when it is completely free from the taint of *himsa* and its use is actuated purely and solely by love it may be used with absolute impunity in any connection and in any circumstances whatever. A concrete instance of its use against a social evil was furnished by the brave and spirited students of Dharmaj (in Kheda District) a few days back. The facts as gleaned from the various communications about the incident received by me were as follows:

A gentleman of Dharmaj, some days back, gave a caste dinner in connection with the twelfth-day ceremony of the death of his mother. It was preceded by a keen controversy about the subject among the young men of the place who shared with a number

[1] The Gujarati original, of which this is a translation, was published in *Navajivan*, 26-2-1928.

of other local inhabitants their strong dislike of this custom. They felt that, on this occasion, something must be done. Accordingly, most of them took all or some of the following three vows:

1. Not to join their elders at the dinner or otherwise partake of the food served on that occasion.
2. To observe fast on the day of the dinner as an emphatic protest against this practice.
3. To bear patiently and cheerfully any harsh treatment that might be accorded to them by their elders for taking this step.

In pursuance of this decision, quite a large number of students, including some children of tender age, fasted on the day on which the dinner was given and took upon themselves the wrath of their so-called elders. Nor was the step free from the dangers of serious pecuniary consequences to the students. The 'elders' threatened to stop the allowances of their boys and even to withdraw any financial aid that they were giving to local institutions, but the boys stood firm. As many as two hundred and eighty-five students thus refused to take part in the caste dinner and most of them fasted.

I tender my congratulations to these boys and hope that everywhere students will take a prominent part in effecting social reform. They hold in their pocket, as it were, the key to social reform and the protection of their religion, just as they have in their possession the key to swaraj—though they may not be aware of it owing to their negligence or carelessness. But I hope that the example set by the students of Dharmaj will awaken them to a sense of their power. In my opinion, the true *shraddha* of the deceased lady was performed by these young men fasting on that day, while those who gave the dinner wasted good money and set a bad example to the poor. The rich, monied class ought to use their God-given wealth for philanthropic purposes. They should understand that the poor cannot afford to give caste dinners on wedding or on funeral ceremonies. These bad practices have proved to be the ruin of many a poor man. If the money that was spent in Dharmaj on the caste dinner had been used for helping poor students, or poor widows, or for khadi or cow-protection or the amelioration of the untouchables, it would have borne fruit and brought peace to the departed soul. But, as it is, the dinner has already been forgotten, it has profited nobody and it has caused pain to the students and the sensible section of the Dharmaj public.

Let no one imagine that the satyagraha has gone in vain because it did not succeed in preventing the dinner in question from taking place. The students themselves knew that there was

little possibility of their satyagraha producing any immediate tangible result. But we may safely take it that, if they do not let their vigilance go to sleep, no *shethia*[1] will again dare to give a post-mortem dinner. A chronic and long-standing social evil cannot be swept away at a stroke; it always requires patience and perseverance.

When will the 'elders' of our society learn to recognize the signs of the times? How long will they be slaves to custom instead of using it as a means for the amelioration of society and the country? How long will they keep their children divorced from a practical application of the knowledge which they are helping them to acquire? When will they rescue their sense of right and wrong from its present state of trance and wake up and be *mahajans*[2] in the true sense of the word?

Young India, 1-3-1928

59. *LETTER TO WILFRED WELLOCK*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sending you an autographed volume of the so-called autobiography. You will be interested to know that all the bound volumes are bound in khaddar and every rupee invested in khaddar means at least twelve annas into the pockets directly of the poorest people.

Yours sincerely,

WILFRED WELLOCK, ESQ.
VICTORIA AVENUE, QUINTON
BIRMINGHAM

From a photostat: S.N. 14250

[1] Rich man
[2] Leaders

60. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 26, 1928

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I have been duly receiving the duplicates of your semi-official notes for Sir Habibullah. Manilal and others too keep me informed of your movements. Already urgent letters are being received to implore you not to leave South Africa at the end of your year. They say you are already counting your months. And they are trembling in their shoes, and more than them am I trembling, and perhaps, my tremble is weightier because of the absence of shoes. For I really feel that except for grave reasons of health it would be a national tragedy for you to leave South Africa at the present moment. And I am sorry to have to say—but it is true—that no one else can successfully replace you at the present moment. The familiarity that your stay in South Africa might have produced has certainly not bred contempt; on the contrary, it has gained greater respect for you from those whose respect counts for the work. And just as you have gained influence amongst the Europeans, you have gained staunch adherents amongst our own countrymen. You may not desert them. Do please therefore let me have a reassuring letter. Of course I don't know what the Government may want you to do. *Verb. sap.*

With love,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

If you were here, you would not appreciate our politics just now.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: G. N. 8814; also S.N. 11963

61. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 26, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letters. I am sensing all that is going on in Delhi and can understand every word of what you have said in your letter. I can't give you an adequate conception of my grief as I follow the Conference proceedings from day to day and read between the lines. Father's illuminating letter only confirmed my own reading from a distance. Then came Kripalani's letter yesterday to Krishnadas, and yours has come today to put the finishing touch.[1] What a miserable show we are putting up against the insolence of Lord Birkenhead and the crookedness of the Commissioners? I had not expected much from Sir John Simon, but I was not at all prepared for his resorting to all the known tricks of bureaucracy, and this the latest trade on untouchables adds to the ugliness of the whole picture. However, we have to be patient. You must therefore patiently go through the agony and mend where you can.

Do come as early as possible. I hope Kamala is keeping up her strength, if not actually adding to it. I wonder if Father has told you that, before you came, when Father was with me in Bangalore, he and I had contemplated your stay in Bangalore because of its magnificent climate during summer. There are just four weeks of somewhat trying weather, but you could always go to Nandi Hill only 35 miles from Bangalore where you have delightfully cool weather. In no case should Kamala be allowed to lose what she gained in Switzerland.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13079

[1] In his letter, dated Allahabad, February 23, Jawaharlal Nehru had written: "I wrote to you a few hours ago and informed you that I hoped to be in Sabarmati on Monday or Tuesday night. Immediately after I received a summons from Delhi to go there and remain there for the next fortnight or more to assist in constitution drafting. . . . Personally I have had enough of this All-Parties Conference. After ten days of it, the strain was too great for me and I fled to avoid riot and insurrection! I feel better already after a three-day absence, but another dose of all the parties may go to my head. I am thus

62. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

February 26, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters. I also got the cable, to which I have already replied. If I were seriously ill, I would certainly have had a cable sent to you. Others, too, would have cabled, but do you think a man who was so seriously ill would wait till the steamer had arrived? Even in case of such illness, therefore, it would be best for you to suppress the desire to abandon your work and run back home.

Ramdas and Nirmala have gone to Rajkot, and from there they will go to Amreli. They have decided, both of them, to take up some work connected with my activities and devote themselves wholly to it. The place of work too will be decided before the 16th of March.

Devdas is still here. He is keeping well. Brian Gabriel left for Bombay today after staying here for three days. This letter will be carried by the same ship by which he sails.

I wish to see Sushila restored to perfect health. Which book in English is she studying? Send me a sample of her handwriting.

Tell Mr. Kallenbach that I am waiting for him to come.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4734

---

not at all desirous of attending the meetings in Delhi. But I do not know what might happen. I shall wire to you from Delhi" (S.N. 13079).

63. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

Phalgun Shukla 6 [February 26, 1928][1]

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

Your letter. Illness is such a thing that most often one never knows whence and how it comes. Do not be sorry on this account, but make further introspection and be thankful to God even for the illness. Try to remove your own shortcomings if you notice any. Keep writing to me. If necessary, do take milk.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI TULSI MAHER
CHARKHA PRACHARAK
SHRI TULSI BHADURJI
Via VIRGUNJ
RAXAUL, BIHAR

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6533

64. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 27, 1928

MY DEAR RITCH,

I was glad to receive your long letter though a business letter. Unlike you, I am going to commence with domestic business. I was distressed to hear from Miss Knudsen, who by the way is staying with me at the present moment, that you had lost one of your legs. But she was unable to give me the reason for it. You shall give it. And how is Mrs. Ritch doing? And what about Erick and Harold? The daughters' names I forget. I hope they won't accuse me of want of chivalry. What are they all doing? For me, I am dictating from a sick-bed, not that I feel anything particular within me, but doctors have warned me against exerting myself either physically or mentally for some time yet. Mrs. Gandhi is keeping quite well. Harilal has practically forsaken me. He

[1] From the postmark

drinks, eats and makes himself merry. But he is a brave boy in one sense that he makes no secret of his vice and his rebellion is an open rebellion. If he had not done his creditors down, I would not have minded his other lapses as I mind this betrayal of his creditors. Manilal you know is in Phœnix and Ramdas and Devdas are assisting me in my work. Polak is in India just now, travelling about his business. I met him for a few minutes in Madras and he is likely to call at the Ashram before he re-embarks for London. Andrews is a frequent visitor to the Ashram and he is due here about the third of March. This Ashram is a big, growing affair. We are at the present moment supporting a population of about two hundred, quite a little village by ourselves. And not only do we go through all the processes of cotton till it comes out as cloth, we are conducting a little dairy, a little tannery and we are having a little bit of farming. We have some fruit-trees and we grow our own vegetables. We grow some grains and enough fodder for cattle. We have as a rule one or two Europeans with us and there is a constant stream of such visitors. Life is very simple, and yet not simple enough for the Indian setting. You can't have any notion from that distance of the grinding poverty of the masses. And if we could only sustain ourselves well enough for our work in less, I would straightway reduce our expenses which amount to a pound per month on an average including clothing but excluding rental. Of course we are paying no rent. We have nearly 75 boys and girls for whom we are conducting what I may call a model school making tuitional experiments.

Now for business. My own opinion is that neither Andrews nor Sastri could have got more than they have. I quite agree with you that these Union Ministers will be driven to getting out of the bargain. But if Sastri is permitted to remain in South Africa for any length of time, I am inclined to think that his correct, that is, his righteous, diplomacy will triumph over the crooked diplomacy of South Africa. If we are to achieve the full result of the struggle of 1906 to 1914, we must act on the square and cleanse our stables, and I feel sure that if those who have entered surreptitiously will cease to be greedy, will make a clear confession and truthfully, not encourage any single fraudulent entrant in future, the position can be saved and the condition of the resident population steadily improved. If, however, the desire is not only to cover surreptitious entries already accomplished, but to leave the door open for more, I think that the community will be unable to remain in South Africa with any degree of self-respect. It will hold on somehow or other I have no doubt, it will be difficult to wipe out such

a large and resourceful community, but it would be a sordid existence; whereas I would like the Indians of South Africa to play an honourable part not merely for the upbuilding of South Africa but for the upbuilding of India itself. If we play the game in South Africa, it is possible in course of time to secure full rights of citizenship. You may share this letter with any friend you like.

With regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11965

65. *LETTER TO K. BALASUBRAMANIAM*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The more I think of it the more confirmed I become that boycott of British goods is a useless cry. I have not contemplated boycott of India's mills. All I have said about them is that they do not need any advertisement as khadi does, even as an old established trade needs no advertisement whereas a new one does.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. BALASUBRAMANIAM
6 LAKSHMI VILAS
MAMBALAM (NEAR MADRAS)

From a photostat: S.N. 13088

66. LETTER TO K. NARASIMHA IYENGAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 27 [1928][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter of the 18th ultimo, I am asking the manager to exchange [with] you *Young India*. I have not seen the Supplement which you say you have sent.

My message to you is that an Indian journal outside India has a need for double caution. I hope that your journal instead of pandering to the evil tastes of the people wherever they exist will stand out boldly for social and moral reforms and show the emigrants that it is their duty to represent the best of Indian culture in the land to which they may migrate and to keep up the bond between themselves and the motherland by adopting khaddar at least.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. NARASIMHA IYENGAR
MANAGING EDITOR,
"THE TAMIL NESAN"
212 BATU ROAD, KUALA LUMPUR
(F. N. U.)

From a photostat: S.N. 14251

67. LETTER TO PRAGJI K. DESAI

February 27, 1928

CHI. PRAGJI,

I have your letter. It is a pretty difficult problem in which you have been caught up. All the difficulties will be solved if you have patience and scrupulous regard for truth. Do not, for the sake of immediate gain, lend your name to falsehood. I have conveyed my views to Mr. Ritch.[2] I had a long letter from him, which I have read with care. I do believe that we can still save the situation, if only people will stop the practice of bringing in unautho-

[1] The letter under reply was dated January 18, 1928.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", 27-2-1928.

rized persons. Try to keep Sastriji for another year. I will also try from this end. How is Medh faring? What do you think now will be the result of your case?

My health is good; there is no cause at all for worry. Try to suppress your desire to return to Bardoli.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5031

68. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHOUDHRI

February 27, 1928

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

Your letter to hand. I had no idea of what was being written about me in *Shraddhanand*. I glance at one or two newspapers for a few minutes only. I do not want that anyone should defend me. Moreover, it hurts me that someone should be attacked on my account. You can use this letter as you like. I am writing to *Pratap*.[1]

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]
Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha Kya Samajha?, p. 161

69. LETTER TO REVASHANKER JHAVERI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
[Before *February 29, 1928*][2]

RESPECTED REVASHANKERBHAI,

I have your letter.

You did well in sending a telegram to Dr. Muthu. I have had good experience of him. He has a great reputation. Send me a telegram when you hear that he is on his way, so that I may write to him again. I have in any case to reply to his wire.

[1] *Pratap*, in an editorial, had "caustically criticized" an article by Vinayakrao Savarkar in *Shraddhanand*. Gandhiji's letter to *Pratap*, however, is not available.

[2] It is clear from the contents that this was written before February 29; *vide* "Letter to Revashanker Jhaveri", 29-2-1928.

If you find him a friendly person, consult him about your health too. Swellings indicate weakness of the heart. It is proper that you have stopped physical movements. But you need fresh air the most.

Manilal[1] wants Chi. Jeki[2] to join him immediately. He seems to be doing well in Aden. He has also paid Jeki's fare to Thomas Cook. He is suffering from hydrocele and wishes to be operated upon in Aden, that is why he wants her there. I believe that he would have called her even if he had not been suffering from the disease. He wants the children, too. Jeki is completely at home here. The kids are making great progress in their studies. All of them keep fit. But I feel that, since Manilal wants her, it is Jeki's clear duty to go to Aden. She, too, is ready to go. Let me know your opinion about this, so that I may act accordingly.

I am keeping well.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1273

70. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 29, 1928

MY DEAR BHRRR[3],

You are a good young man of twenty-five to brave the Government and the heat of Bardoli. No defeat if you please.

Yours,
BHRRR

From a photostat: S.N. 9562

[1] Manilal Doctor, husband of Jayakunwar
[2] Jayakunwar, daughter of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta
[3] This was a manner of greeting between Gandhiji and the addressee.

71. *LETTER TO DUNICHAND*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 29, 1928

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I have your letter delivered through Lala Suraj Bhanu. I have put him on work which he had least expected and told him that he is not likely to take to the Ashram life unless he became a labourer pure and simple. But he seems to have taken to it very gracefully and pleasantly.

Now about your donation. I did not know that you were a pucka bania by choice. But you little knew that you were dealing with a still more pucka bania voluntarily acting as the agent of *Daridranarayana*. You say that you had announced a donation to the Ashram of Rs. 500 on the marriage of your son and you propose, to use the language of law, wrongfully to divert part of the funds to the payment of a debt voluntarily incurred by you with Sjt. Manilal Kothari. How can a donation be utilized for discharge of a debt whether moral or legal? And what connection can your promise to pay the All-India Spinners' Association have with the Ashram which represents multifarious activities—tanning, dairying, farming, experiments in hygiene, cotton-growing, ginning, carding, spinning, weaving, dyeing, printing, carpentry, smithy, conducting educational experiments, looking after widows, taking care of so-called untouchables, etc.? And why such a donation, not paid on the date on which it was announced, should not carry double interest in the hands of the donor who from date of announcement becomes a trustee? You will please deal with these conundrums before I can deal with your cheque finally. And I would ask you in deciding this question to consult Mrs. Dunichand, who, when I had the pleasure of being under your roof, was found to be less bania-like than you have proved to be.

Yours sincerely,

LALA DUNICHAND
ADVOCATE
KRIPANIVAS
AMBALA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 13080

72. LETTER TO B. RAJARAM PANDIAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 29, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you have the courage of your convictions, then of course you will not send the two boys to the school and make either private arrangements for them or send them to a national school. I must at the same time say that I do not like the tone of the letter you adopted, and it would have been far more dignified if you had frankly told the head master that you did not send your boys because of the national declaration of boycott. The boys would have been sent out of the school, it is true; but it would have been a courted and, therefore, dignified dismissal.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. RAJARAM PANDIAN
BHASKARA VILAS PALACE
RAMNAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13090

73. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 29, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Jawahar had prepared me for your letter.[1] I am sorry that our meeting is delayed. But I am glad that you are staying there if per chance some tangible result may be achieved. What a sorry exhibition we are making of ourselves in the face of this organized insult to a whole people. But I suppose we have to make the best of a very bad job. I do hope that the Committee of

[1] In his letter of February 24, Motilal Nehru had written: ". . . I am sorry it will not be possible for me and Jawahar to leave for Sabarmati on the 26th. The very day that I wrote to you giving the points of agreement and disagreement between the various parties, Mr. Jinnah announced that it was

twenty is being fully attended. We are engaged in an unequal duel; on the one hand are clever whole-timers acting with one mind and with the greatest deliberation; on the other we are part-timers having many irons in the fire and having almost as many minds as our numbers. My hope however is in the justness of our cause.

I hope your eyes are not causing you much trouble.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13083

74. LETTER TO PADMARAJ JAIN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 29, 1928

DEAR PADMARAJ BABU,

I have your letter. My views have been frequently and unequivocally expressed in the pages of *Young India*. I have no notion of what is being done there at the present moment. But I suggest your seeking advice from Pandit Malaviyaji who knows more of the inwardness of the present movement than I do lying on a sick-bed. As you will notice, therefore, I am simply satisfying myself with

---

wrong to say that anything had been agreed upon by the Muslim League which had not yet formally appointed its representatives to the Conference. He added that he was no doubt personally of the opinions he had expressed, but he felt that, in the absence of definite authority from his League, he was not competent even to bind himself with those opinions. Thus it was that the long sittings and elaborate discussions occupying ten days came practically to nothing. It was also found that the attendance at the Conference was thinning away from day to day until it came down to 14 on the 21st. The Executive of the Muslim League is meeting on the 26th and Mr. Jinnah has promised to do his best to bring them round to his point of view. In all these circumstances, I thought it was futile to go on with the Conference and suggested that a sub-committee be appointed to go into the whole question and make its report as soon as possible to an adjourned sitting of the Conference. This was agreed to and the Conference was adjourned to the 8th March, a committee of 20 being appointed to enter upon their work at once. We have a large field to cover, but will either be able to get on better after the 26th or give up the attempt. I feel that my presence here is necessary till either of the two contingencies I have mentioned happens. . . . I shall write or wire as soon as I am free."

an expression of my general views on swadeshi, boycott, and the like.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PADMARAJ JAIN
BENGAL PROVINCIAL HINDU SABHA
160 HARRISON ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13089

75. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday [February 29, 1928][1]

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. A chemist told me that if oil is frozen, the acid in it separates out and only the fat remains.

There was indeed good news concerning Morvi. If Revashankerbhai agrees, we can make him the president. If he falls ill, we can then elect someone else. I find this the best solution.

Since Fulchand and the others have gone to Bardoli, who is helping you now? What have you done about the Antyaja School at Morvi? I also want you to do something for implementing the resolutions of the Parishad[2]. I do not know the English word for *chilgoza*[3]. If I get some, I will send you a little as sample. I'll also try to find out its English name.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5695

[1] From the postmark
[2] Kathiawar Political Conference
[3] Pine seed

76. LETTER TO REVASHANKER JHAVERI

Wednesday, February 29, 1928

RESPECTED REVASHANKERBHAI,

I got your letter, as also your wire. On getting the wire, I wrote a letter to Dr. Muthu only yesterday, addressed C/o you. You must have passed it on to him. If you have not sent a telegram or have not been able to write a letter even today, intimating the result of his examination, inform me by wire. I have also written to Dr. Muthu requesting him to write to me in detail.

Chi. Jeki is not at all keen on going to Aden. She is ready to do what we advise her to do. But we must consider what our duty is in regard to her. Is it right for us to keep Jeki with us against Manilal's wishes? What would the doctor[1] wish in these circumstances? If I were free to decide myself, I would certainly support Jeki in her desire not to go. But I feel that the doctor would not wish that, nor perhaps would you. I cannot bear to see the miserable condition of women. I would, if I could, save every woman from the burden which her husband in his sensuality puts upon her. However, if God let things happen according to our wishes, the world would certainly turn upside down; we should, therefore, do whatever we can while keeping ourselves detached.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1274

77. FOREIGN PROPAGANDA[2]

I have no desire to start any hot controversy over the question of foreign propaganda, but I publish the foregoing as it summarizes the views of many workers who hold them in no sense weakly because they do not express them in public. If the pure Non-co-operation of 1920 is not witnessed on an extensive scale at the present moment, it is most decidedly going deeper with some and everything that is happening today in the land goes to strengthen their belief. But they cannot make themselves felt by being vocal

[1] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

[2] For C. Rajagopalachari's article bearing this title, *vide* Appendix I.

in season and out of season. On the contrary, they feel that they serve the cause of swaraj better by observing silence where they cannot serve by speech and helping humbly and actively wherever they can.

Young India, 1-3-1928

78. CHAOS v. *MISRULE*

An esteemed friend writes:[1]

> It is not often that I intrude upon your expressions of political opinion. But a sentence of yours in a recent editorial, repeating a heresy uttered by you long ago, compels me to ask you whether you have measured your words with the care that one expects of an expounder of moral issues. You declare that you would accept chaos in exchange for freedom from the English yoke. That an Indian should desire and work for freedom from any foreign yoke is perfectly natural, normal and healthy. That anyone in his senses should exchange any kind of orderly government for chaos is simply incomprehensible, for the one implies some sort of discipline, whether imposed or stimulated, whereas the latter is the very negation of self-discipline. . . .
>
> If non-violence be, as you claim it to be, creative, purposeful, and divine in its nature, then chaos cannot be its consequence or characteristic. If you have used the term with deliberation, then I should comment that you have rendered no service to mankind, who need rather a reminder that they should acquire the cosmic vision rather than the chaotic one to which they are already prone. . . .

There is no mistaking the earnestness running through the letter. And I have so much regard for the friend's views, that if I could have suited mine to his, I would gladly have done so.

But I must say that my choice was deliberate. Chaos means no rule, no order. Rule or order can come, does come out of no rule or no order, but never directly out of misrule or disorder masquerading under the sacred name of rule or order. My friend's difficulty arises, I presume, out of his assumption that the present Government of India represents "some sort of discipline whether imposed or stimulated". It is likely that our estimates of the existing system differ. My own estimate of it is that it is an unmitigated evil. No good therefore can come out of this evil. I hold misrule to be worse than no rule.

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

Nor need my words cause any confusion in the minds of the ignorant or the violent. For I admit my correspondent's contention that chaos can be the result only of violence. Have I not often said in these pages that if I were compelled to choose between this rule and violence I would give my vote for the latter though I will not, I could not, assist a fight based on violence? It would be a matter for me of Hobson's choice. The seeming quiescence of today is a dangerous form of violence kept under suppression by greater violence or rather readiness for it. Is it not better that those who, out of a cowardly fear of death or dispossession, whilst harbouring violence refrain from it, should do it and win freedom from bondage or die gloriously in the attempt to vindicate their birthright?

My non-violence is not an academic principle to be enunciated on favourable occasions. It is a principle which I am seeking to enforce every moment of my life in every field of activity. In my attempt, often frustrated through my own weakness or ignorance, to enforce non-violence, I am driven for the sake of the creed itself to countenance violence by way of giving mental approval to it. In 1921 I told the villagers near Bettiah[1] that they had acted like cowards in that they had instead of resisting the evil-minded Amlas left their wives and homes on their approach. On another occasion I expressed myself ashamed of a priest who said he had quietly slipped away and saved himself when a ruffian band had entered his temple to loot it and break the idol. I told him that if he could not die at his post defending his charge non-violently, he should have defended it by offering violent resistance. Similarly do I hold that, if India has no faith in non-violence, nor patience for it to work its way, then it is better for her to attain her freedom from the present misrule even by violence than that she should helplessly submit to a continuing rape of her belongings and her honour.

Look at the shameless manner in which, for sustaining the spoliation of India, British statesmen (?) are setting one party against another. They have suddenly discovered the untouchables, for they seem to fear that the Hindu-Muslim dissensions alone might not prove enough security for retaining possession of the 'most glorious diadem in the British Crown'. They are trying to set the helpless princes against the people. Sir John Simon finds it necessary to play the same game. The penetrating intellect he is said to possess does not penetrate the very thin veil that covers the frauds that are set up for his edification and he finds nothing

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 89-90.

seriously amiss in the Indian atmosphere. This sort of 'orderly discipline' has unmanned and unnerved the people as nothing in their previous history has ever done.

My own position and belief are clear and unequivocal. I neither want the existing rule nor chaos. I want true order established without having to go through the travail of chaos. I want this disorder to be destroyed by non-violence, i.e., I want to convert the evil-doers. My life is dedicated to that task. And what I have written in the previous paragraphs directly flows from my knowledge of the working of non-violence which is the greatest force known to mankind. My belief in its efficacy is unshakable, so is my belief unshakable in the power of India to gain her freedom through non-violent means and no other. But this power of hers cannot be evoked by suppressing truth or facts however ugly they may for the moment appear to be. God forbid that India should have to engage in a sanguinary duel before she learns the lesson of non-violence in its fullness. But if that intermediate stage, often found to be necessary, is to be her lot, it will have to be faced as a stage inevitable in her march towards freedom and certainly preferable to the existing order which is only so-called but which is like a whited sepulchre hiding undiluted violence underneath.

Young India, 1-3-1928

79. *TOLSTOY CENTENARY*

Mr. Aylmer Maude than whom there is no better English authority on Tolstoyan literature writes:

> Knowing your interest in Tolstoy, I am sending you copy of a circular just issued to members of the Tolstoy Society, as well as copy of a letter by Bernard Shaw.
>
> We are anxious that this Centenary Edition should find a place in public libraries and also that its publication should enable us to give assistance to members of Tolstoy's family, who are in distress since the Russian Revolution.
>
> Should you have an opportunity of mentioning the Edition to librarians or members of the committee of any of your Indian libraries, the Committee of the Tolstoy Society would feel greatly indebted to you.

I take the following from the printed notice of the Tolstoy Society:[1]

[1] The notice about the publication and price of Tolstoy Centenary Volumes is not reproduced here.

The Secretary is Miss L. E. Elliott, Ladywell House, Great Baddow, Chelmsford, England.

Anyone can become a member of the Tolstoy Society by paying at least £ 1-1-0 and an associate by paying a minimum subscription of 2s. 6d.

Young India, 1-3-1928

80. THE COW-PROTECTION BIBLIOGRAPHY

The foregoing list[1] has been prepared by Sjt. V. G. Desai out of his extensive study of the literature available on the question of cow-protection in terms of the objects of the All-India Cow-protection Association. It is not suggested that a study of all the foregoing literature is necessary for the lover of the cow or even that it is all valuable. The list is intended to help the careful student.

Young India, 1-3-1928

81. KHADI NEAR MEERUT

Dr. Ray gave me soon after his recent visit to Meerut an account of his impressions. I take the following from his letter:[2]

> . . . I was taken to a village 20 miles north of the town where the peasants are comparatively prosperous. . . . In almost every house I visited the mother, the daughter and sometimes the daugher-in-law were found basking in the sun and spinning 10 to 12 count yarns. The coarse cloth woven in the village itself is used by the local people and ready-made sliver hawked about. In the fields also side by side with the standing crops there are patches of cotton cultivation. The march of 'civilization' has not yet fully overtaken the unfortunate villagers, but they have begun to taste of it. . . . The Banaras Gandhi Ashram with the help of a local band of devoted sacrificing workers is doing its level best but funds and proper organization are both badly needed.

The hum of the wheel need not die either in the Punjab or elsewhere in India, if we would be true to our trust. The band of workers from the Banaras Ashram who attracted Dr. Ray's attention are working in and near that district to put khadi on a stable

[1] This is not reproduced here.
[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

footing. Now that the parent of the Ashram, Acharya Kripalani, is in the midst of his workers, there should be redoubled zeal on their part and greater support and appreciation from the public.

Young India, 1-3-1928

82. *LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA*

Friday [On or after *March 2, 1928*][1]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I am happy to learn that there has been some improvement in Nikhil's health. Rest and water-treatment may bring about a complete cure.

Study the *Ramayana* well. Recite the quatrains and couplets over and over again and meditate on them. Keep your mind absolutely calm and never give way to depression. This is the teaching of the *Gita*. This is the purpose of Ramanama. Those blessed by God do not regard sorrow as sorrow. Daily we chant here the verse:

विपदो नैव विपदः संपदो नैव संपदः
विपद्विस्मरणं विष्णोः संपन्नारायणस्मृतिः

It means that sorrow is not sorrow, happiness is not happiness. Sorrow is forgetting Vishnu; happiness is remembering Narayana.

He who has Narayana in his heart, how can he know sorrow?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1651

[1] From the reference to water-treatment of Nikhil the letter appears to have been written after the one to Satis Chandra Das Gupta dated February 25, the Friday following which was March 2.

83. *LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 3, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter. I have discussed it with Jawaharlal, but he suggests, and I agree, that it will be better for me to reduce to writing the views I have expressed to him so that there may be no misunderstanding about the correct interpretation of my views, and so that he may also know whether he understood me correctly.

ELECTORATE: I am of the same opinion that I expressed years ago at Delhi that we should not be party to separate electorates or to reservation of seats, the latter should be by mutual voluntary arrangement if such is necessary. But unless the Mussalmans agree, there is no going back by us on reservation of seats. The Congress is committed to it. I think, therefore, that we must simply adhere to the Congress resolution and expect Hindus and Mussalmans to carry out that resolution. If the All-Parties Conference cannot discover another method acceptable to all, we must simply work out the Congress formula.

THE CONSTITUTION: Personally I am of opinion that we are not ready for drawing up a constitution till we have developed sanction for ourselves. Any constitution that we may arrive at must be a final thing in the sense that we may improve upon but we may not recede from it even by an inch. There seems to be no atmosphere for arriving at such a constitution. I would personally therefore prefer instead of a constitution, a working arrangement between all parties upon which all may be agreed. This would be not a constitution but chief heads of it, as for instance, the Hindu-Muslim arrangement, the franchise, the policy as to the Native States. If we are to make this thing popular, I should bring in total prohibition and exclusion of foreign cloth as an indispensable condition. Of course we should guarantee equality of treatment of all religions as also of the so-called untouchables. I am not exhaustive in the list of things on which there should be an agreement, but I have simply given a few things by way of illustration. I think that if we go beyond such a general agreement, we would be making a mistake. In any

case, I do hope that the Conference will not break up without doing anything, and even if it does, the Working Committee should take the matter in its own hands and issue its own authoritative statement on behalf of the Congress on all the matters for which the Conference has been convened.

SANCTION: More important than the two foregoing things, in my opinion, is the sanction. Unless we have created some force ourselves, we shall not advance beyond the position of beggars, and I have given all my time to thinking over this one question, and I can think of nothing else but boycott of foreign cloth with the assistance of mills if possible, without if necessary. I hold it to be perfectly capable of attainment within a measurable distance of time if we can create sufficient public opinion in its favour. I would have exclusive concentration upon this thing if I had my way. Though I have said nothing in public, I do not at all like what is going on in Bengal. So far as I can see, it is doomed to failure and I can see much harm coming out of that failure; and unlike boycott of foreign cloth, it is valueless, unless it succeeds to the extent we want. Jawaharlal and I have given most of our time to a consideration of this question. And he will explain it all to you. As soon as he can be dispensed with, I would like you to send him back for further discussion of this problem if we do not finish before he leaves for Delhi.

I see that I am not to expect you here in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13095

84. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SABARMATI,
March 3, 1928

JAMNALAL BAJAJ
WARDHA

MAY GO DELHI IF NECESSARY. HEALTH EXCELLENT. BEGAN TAKING MILK FROM YESTERDAY FOR MORAL REASONS.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchama Putrane Bapuna Ashirvad, p. 59

85. HAWKING KHADI IN GUJARAT

Shri Vithaldas Jerajani writes to say:[1]

It was necessary to undertake such work in Gujarat. Now that it has begun, it will help in creating a khadi atmosphere if it gains a foothold. I take it for granted that help from local workers will be available everywhere in Gujarat.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-3-1928

86. CATTLE IN KATHIAWAR

An expert in cattle breeding writes from Kathiawar to say:[2]

This letter deserves the attention of rulers (of Indian States) and their officers. The several methods of cattle-protection shown here have been discussed in various ways in the letter itself. However, I mention them here as they have been stated with reference to the local conditions by a person who has lived in Kathiawar. The cows and bullocks of Kathiawar were at one time famous. It is a matter of shame for every State in Kathiawar that today they are being sent to the slaughter-house and that economically they are regarded as a burden.

This reform requires neither a large sum of money nor any great courage. It is only a matter of giving up lethargy and sparing a little time from politics. It requires no great effort to get scrub bulls castrated or to regulate cattle fodder. The States should train some students by offering them scholarships. In the mean while, they should carry on the work with whatever help they can get.

The heads of pinjrapoles too should take note of the above suggestions. Infirm cattle ought to be looked after. However, it is a thousand times more important to prevent useful cattle from being sent to the slaughter-house.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-3-1928

[1] The letter, which dealt with the door-to-door sale of khadi in Gujarat, is not translated here.

[2] The letter is not translated here.

87. SATYAGRAHA IN BARDOLI

In this issue the reader will find the letters exchanged between the Government and Shri Vallabhbhai. In a way this correspondence is a sorry chapter. So far as I can see, the facts mentioned by Shri Vallabhbhai or the arguments that he has based on them lack nothing. The Government's reply is marked by cunning and equivocation and amounts to a snub. It makes one sad that power thus makes a person arrogant and that he in his arrogance loses his humanity and forgets himself. Although we may have known thousands of such instances of human weakness, each new one is bound to cause pain. This is because though man is not free from fault, at heart he wants to do good. Hence he is pained by insolence, discourtesy, etc., from others.

I shall not enter into the correctness or otherwise of the facts and the arguments. The reader may not have before him all the literature which would enable him to examine the pros and cons; if he has it, he may not have the patience to read and reflect upon it. However, Shri Vallabhbhai's demands will be found reasonable by the disinterested reader even on the basis of justice alone. Vallabhbhai does not insist that his arguments should be accepted by the Government. What he in fact says is that, while the Government is on one side, the people are on the other. There is a difference of opinion between the two regarding the facts themselves. There should be a third party to arbitrate in this dispute. Whatever award is given by this party will be accepted by Vallabhbhai on behalf of the people.

This is the crux, the essence, of Vallabhbhai's letter. The question that now arises is whether there could be such arbitration to settle disputes between the Government and the people. Is not the former the supreme authority? In matters relating to law, even this Government is theoretically prepared to stand in the dock in a court of law. The Government regards the question of land revenue as extra-judicial. The reason for this is beyond the common man's powers of comprehension. Let us not enter into the intricacies of this argument at this moment.

However, if the question of land revenue is outside the jurisdiction of courts, what could Vallabhbhai do but ask for arbitration? Should he advise the people to appeal to the Government and then sit quiet? Even if he wished to give such advice,

the people had not left the door open to him; they had already appealed to the Government. Vallabhbhai would not help them make such appeals, so they approached those who would. Having been unsuccessful there, they returned to Vallabhbhai to make him accept their leadership in offering satyagraha.

In accordance with the rules of satyagraha, Vallabhbhai approached the Government with a polite offer of peace. He said that the Government might not be wrong, it was possible that the people might have misled him. He asked the Government to appoint an arbitrator and ask him to dispense justice. He hoped the Government would not claim infallibility. The Government, by committing the grave mistake of rejecting this proposal, cleared the way for the people to offer satyagraha.

The Government, however, claims that Vallabhbhai is an outsider and does not belong there, that he is an alien and, if he and his alien friends had not entered Bardoli, people would have certainly paid up the revenue—that is the trend of the Government's letter.

This is like the thief trying to punish the policeman. As long as Bardoli is in India neither Vallabhbhai nor anyone else amongst us will understand how either he or any Indian living within the territory between Kashmir in the north and Kanyakumari in the south and between Karachi in the west and Dibrugarh in the east, can be called an outsider. It is the British officers of the Government who are foreigners, outsiders who do not belong here, and, to speak more plainly, all the officers—whether they are black or white—who serve this foreign, outside authority belong to this category. Those who owe their livelihood to the Government would of course be on its side. Even persons like Drona and Bhishma had to tell Yudhishthira that they were on the side of those who provided them their livelihood. How crooked of this foreign Government, to call a person like Vallabhbhai an outsider in Bardoli! This is like darkness at noon! It is because of such things that people like me regard it a sin to be loyal to such a Government, and practise non-co-operation. How can we hope for any justice where such gross impertinence prevails? Who can teach justice to this Government? Only a satyagrahi. The Government cannot be vanquished by intellectual arguments. For the mighty, reason lies in might. It weighs justice at the point of the sword.

This sword becomes blunt when it meets the sword of the satyagrahi. If the satyagrahis of Bardoli are capable of standing by truth, either an arbitrator will be appointed, or Vallabhbhai's

arguments will be accepted and he will cease to be considered an outsider and come to be accepted as a 'native'.

The other questions arising out of this correspondence will be dealt with later. It is enough for the people of Bardoli to remember that it is for them to win or lose the game.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-3-1928

88. LETTER TO REVASHANKER JHAVERI

Sunday [March 4, 1928][1]

RESPECTED REVASHANKERBHAI,

I have your letter. Please keep me informed about whatever you do for Dhiru. Will you yourself have to go with him or will someone else go? Do you need anyone from here? I understand about Jeki.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1276

89. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, PREM MAHAVIDYALAYA TRUSTEES

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 5 [1928][2]

THE PRESIDENT
PREM MAHAVIDYALAYA TRUSTEES
BRINDABAN

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your wire that the Trustees of the Prem Mahavidyalaya had unanimously decided upon Adhyapak Jugal Kishore acting in Acharya Gidwani's place. You are welcome to Sjt. Jugal Kishore's services for twelve months.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13097

[1] From the postmark
[2] From the contents it is clear that the letter belongs to 1928; *vide* "Prem Mahavidyalaya", 8-3-1928.

90. *LETTER TO A. J. SAUNDERS*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 5, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and money order for Rs. 50. Will you please convey my thanks to the students and tell them that I hope this is merely the first instalment of their gift on behalf of *Daridranarayana* and that they are wearing khaddar habitually?

Yours sincerely,

A. J. SAUNDERS, ESQ.
BURSAR
THE AMERICAN COLLEGE, MADURA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13096

91. *LETTER TO V. S. BHASKARAN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 5, 1928

MY DEAR BHASKARAN,

I was glad to receive your letter. Of course I forgive you for all the mischief you have done. But your letter only confirms what I heard about you, and it was undoubtedly wrong.

You now ask me with my influence to restore the money that you withdrew and say that you will accept penance in the way of fasting and what not. That would not be correct penance. You must now submit to what Ramanathan or Rajaji may say without in any way being influenced by me. That is the correct position for you to take. And, if you can't have the money restored, you should submit to their judgment cheerfully and expect to earn it by honest means in future.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. S. BHASKARAN
C/o POSTMASTER, RANIPET

From a photostat: S.N. 13098

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XXXV, p. 513.

92. *LETTER TO R. NORA BROCKWAY*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 5, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter and to find that Mr. Brockway was doing so well. I hope the recovery has been progressively rapid.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is here at the present moment and I have shared your letter with him.

Yours sincerely,

MISS R. NORA BROCKWAY
ST. CHRISTOPHER'S TRAINING COLLEGE
KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 13099

93. *LETTER TO ROLAND HAYES*[1]

March 5, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Mr. H. Chattopadhyaya writes to me saying that you are likely to visit India in the near future. If you do and if you visit Gujarat, please regard this little Ashram as your home.

Yours sincerely,

MR. ROLAND HAYES
C/o THE AMERICAN EXPRESS CO.
PARIS

From a photostat: S.N. 14253

[1] American Negro singer

94. LETTER TO W. B. STARR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 5, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter enclosing your donation, for both of which I thank you. There was no occasion for you to apologize for the smallness of the donation. The smallest donation in monetary value is a big thing when it comes from a big heart as I am sure yours has done.

The question of reform of the legal profession is a big one. It does not admit of tinkering. I am strongly of opinion that lawyers and doctors should not be able to charge any fees but that they should be paid a certain fixed sum by the State and the public should receive their services free. They will have paid for them through the taxation that they would have paid for such services rendered to citizens automatically. The poor will be untaxed but the rich and the poor will have then the same amount of attention and skill. Today the best legal talents and the best medical advice are unobtainable by the poor.

Yours sincerely,

W. B. STARR, ESQ.
MANAGER
HIGHLAND SPRINGS FARM
CISCO, TEXAS (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 14254

95. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

March 6, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. The resolutions seem to be good. I hope they will be followed up by action. I do not like the idea of having the membership open to those who may love khadi or work for it for pay even though they may not wear it.

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1586

96. WAR AGAINST WAR

A correspondent writes:

My excuse for writing this is that the autobiographical chapter about your attitude towards war as a follower of truth and ahimsa has apparently stirred the thoughts of many, and abler people would be writing to you about it. But I wish to present some aspects that have struck me. Is it not a fundamental doctrine that to the true disciple of truth and ahimsa, there can be no tampering with bad things even though one connot resist them? War is a necessary evil as some say, but that is no excuse for supporting it in the hope that after it there will come to the world a realization of the wickedness of waging war. It cannot be. On the contrary, the callousness of man is increased further in intensity and the feeling about the sacredness of life is destroyed. The anarchist could argue just as you do and say: "We cannot stop European aggression and terrorism. We cannot resist terrorism by mass force. But if we can only domonstrate to them the wickedness of such methods by using them against them, they will see the folly of their attitude and we shall become free, and we shall also save the world from terrorism. So long as *himsa* is resorted to by our rulers and so long as we hate terrorism, what is the harm in using these weapons provided we do not allow them to obsess us?" Has the Great War actually done any good to the nations and particularly to the victors? Materially, morally, and socially they have lost heavily as a result of the victory. Their moral standards have all been upset and the strife after the life of the moment, and the disregard for truth and honesty in international dealings is becoming more and more apparent every day. Can any good come out of a war, however 'righteous' it may be? Are we not bound to oppose it and invite suffering for the cause rather than in any way acquiesce in it either passively or actively? Do you not believe that the pacifists served the cause better than those who actively engaged in the War? What you say might represent the state of your mind in 1914 when you thought there was a sense of justice in the British mentality. Do you now feel that it was right? If another war was declared tomorrow, would you volunteer your help to England in the hope that you would be making things better after the war? I know I have not presented the case in the best way but you can understand what it is that I am trying to tell you, and I shall be glad to have your reply.

I agree with the correspondent that he has not presented his case 'in the best way', but he does represent a type of readers who will not read carefully even writings that are meant to be

serious simply because they happen to be found in a weekly journal. If readers like the correspondent will re-read the chapter in question they will be able to deduce from it that:

1. I did not offer my services because I believed in war. I offered them because I could not avoid participation in it at least indirectly.

2. I had no status to resist participation.

3. I do not believe that war can be avoided by taking part in it even as I do not believe that evil can be avoided by participation in it. This however needs to be distinguished from sincerely helpless participation in many things we hold to be evil or undesirable.

4. The anarchist's argument is irrelevant as his participation in terrorism is deliberate, voluntary and preconceived.

5. The War certainly did no good to the so-called victors.

6. The pacifist resisters who suffered imprisonment certainly served the cause of peace.

7. If another war was declared tomorrow I could not with my present views about the existing Government assist it in any shape or form; on the contrary, I should exert myself to the utmost to induce others to withhold their assistance and to do everything possible and consistent with ahimsa to bring about its defeat.

Young India, 8-3-1928

97. *PREM MAHAVIDYALAYA*

This creation of Raja Mahendra Pratap has a proud record and is one of the very few pre-non-co-operation institutions that were created and have lived without Government aid, recognition or affiliation. Like all such undertakings it has had to pass through many vicissitudes but has come out scatheless through them all. Recently it celebrated its anniversary. Dr. Ansari presided on the occasion. The report before me states that "the proceedings began with a *takli* demonstration and hoisting of the national flag by Dr. Ansari and singing of the flag-song by the volunteers of the Hindustani Seva Dal followed by *Vande Mataram*". The report then proceeds:[1]

Principal Gidwani had every reason to anticipate my support for an institution for which he was able to claim so much. The reader may not know that Principal Gidwani is going to Karachi to join his new post under its Municipality. Sjt. Jugal Kishore's services have been loaned to the trustees by Acharya Kripalani's

[1] The excerpt is not reproduced here.

Ashram at Banaras. But it is understood that though Sjt. Jugal Kishore will act on behalf of Acharya Gidwani, the latter will continue to be interested in the Mahavidyalaya and guide its destinies in so far as it is possible.

Young India, 8-3-1928

98. *NOTES*

The Supreme Arbiter

In answer to the blind adherence one often sees given to everything written in Sanskrit verse and going under the name of Shastra, Sjt. S. D. Nadkarni sends me the following verses taken from sources universally regarded as authoritative and supporting the final authority of reason:

अपि पौरुषमादेयं शास्त्रं चेद्युक्तिबोधकम् ।
अन्यत्त्वार्षमपि त्याज्यं भाव्यं न्यायैकसेविनाम् ॥
युक्तियुक्तमुपादेयं वचनं बालकादपि ।
अन्यत्तृणमिव त्याज्यमप्युक्तं पद्मजन्मना ॥

'A Shastra, though man-made, should be accepted, if it appeals to reason; and the contrary one rejected, though claiming to be inspired. We should be guided by our sense of the just alone. A saying sound in reason should be accepted, though it proceed from a child; and the contrary one rejected as a straw, though it purport to proceed from the God Brahma.' —From *Yogavasishtha* (*Nyaya-prakaranam*)

समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद् भवेत् ।

'A convention adopted by the good shall be as good an authority as the Veda.'

—From the *Madhava-Smriti* (otherwise called the *Madhaviya Vyakhya*)

The verses show that the Shastras were never intended to supplant reason but to supplement it and never could be pleaded in defence of injustice or untruth.

For Those Who Would Succeed

There is so much despondency on the one hand and bluster retarding success on the other, that I gladly reproduce the following maxims handed by a friend and intended to cheer the despondent and warn the blusterers. There is practically nothing impossible for those who would persevere in the face of the heaviest odds. Nothing is possible for those who would brag, bluster and merely make a brave show. Here are the maxims:

Every noble work is at first impossible. —Carlyle

Success in most things depends on knowing how long it takes to succeed. —MONTESQUIEU

Victory belongs to most persevering. —NAPOLEON

Perpetual pushing and assurance put a difficulty out of countenance, and make a seeming impossibility give way. —JEREMY COLLIER

Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel.

The nerve that never relaxes, the eye that never blanches, the thought that never wanders, these are the masters of victory. —BURKE

However discordant or troubled you have been during the day, do not go to sleep until you have restored your mental balance, until your faculties are poised and your mind serene. —CARTWRIGHT

Young India, 8-3-1928

99. OBITUARIES[1]

THE LATE LORD SINHA

To the many tributes that have been paid to the memory of this distinguished servant of India I respectfully tender my quota. Lord Sinha's contribution to the making of modern India will always rank high whenever the estimate of such contributions comes to be made. His advice in all matters of State was always sought and esteemed. The country is the poorer for Lord Sinha's death.

A GREAT REFORMER

Death has removed from the public life of Gujarat in Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth a man of great purity of character, a reformer of equally great zeal and intrepidity, a public worker of singular constancy and a scholar who has made a permanent contribution to Gujarati literature. In common with the numberless Gujaratis I tender my respectful condolences to the bereaved family.

Young India, 8-3-1928

100. BARDOLI AND GOVERNMENT

The illuminating correspondence that has passed between Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and the Government of Bombay regarding the assessment in the Bardoli Taluk affords food for reflection to the public worker and reveals in its true light the nature of the Government under which we are living. Vallabhbhai is not un-

[1] *Vide* also "My Notes", 11-3-1928.

known to fame or to the Government. They have been obliged to acknowledge his worth as a public worker of great capacity, integrity and industry. They have acknowledged his great work in the Municipality of Ahmedabad. Only the other day he received unstinted praise for his philanthropic services in connection with the floods in Gujarat.

But his work seems to have counted for nothing when they found him engaged in an activity calculated to cause them embarrassment and possibly loss of prestige and what is the same thing to them loss of land revenue. Their prestige they need for the sake of their revenue. They are no believers in empty prestige.

And so in their very first letter in the matter, they thought it becoming to insult Sjt. Vallabhbhai by calling in question his professions of goodwill and describing him as an outsider in Bardoli. The last letter emphasizes the insult by leaving no doubt that His Excellency the Governor too was party to it. Sjt. Vallabhbhai had courteously assumed in his letter that whilst His Excellency might be identified with a policy enunciated in Government communications, he need not be identified with the manner of expression, more especially the insulting language often adopted by civilian secretaries incensed over any the least resistance or independence betrayed by the public in their correspondence with them. That the Governor has chosen to become a party to the unwarranted insult shows how difficult it is for Governors, however well-intentioned and impartial they may be reputed to be as the present Governor is, to escape the bureaucratic coil. 'Pride goeth before destruction and haughtiness before a fall.'

But Vallabhbhai has a back broad enough to bear the wordy insults that the bureaucracy may choose to heap upon him from its safe and entrenched heights. My reason for dwelling on the insult is to draw attention to the utterly irresponsible nature of the Government that dares to insult a public worker of the foremost rank.

But let us see for the moment what it is that has upset the Government. Land revenue is a close preserve beyond the pale of law such as it is. The regulation of assessment rests entirely with the executive authority. Every attempt hitherto made to bring it under popular or judicial control has failed. The Government must somehow or other meet the ever-growing expenditure, bulk of which is military. Land revenue lends itself to arbitrary increase as it affects the largest class and a class that has no voice, a class that can be squeezed without wincing. There would be an end to irresponsible government if the governed are either allowed to have a say in their taxation or to resist it successfully. Bardoli does

not appreciate the increase made in its assessment. Its people approached the Government with petitions and exhausted all the means that are regarded as constitutional to secure redress. Having failed they invited Vallabhbhai to advise them and if necessary to lead them in resisting the Government through satyagraha.

Vallabhbhai investigated their case and though he found it to be just, sought to approach the Government with a view to save them embarrassment and spare the people prolonged suffering and suggested an honourable course, i.e., suggested that if the Government did not admit the justice of the people's case, they should appoint an *impartial* tribunal to investigate the case on either side and assured the Government that the people would abide by the decision of such a tribunal. This reasonable suggestion the Government has scornfully rejected.

The public, therefore, are not called upon to accept the popular version as against that of the Government. They are asked merely to support the demand for the appointment of an *impartial* tribunal and failing such appointment to support their heroic resolve peacefully to resist the assessment and suffer all the consequences of such resistance even including confiscation of their land.

Sjt. Vallabhbhai has rightly distinguished the proposed satyagraha from the swaraj satyagraha. This campaign cannot be properly deemed to be a no-tax campaign launched for the attainment of swaraj as Bardoli would have done in 1922. This satyagraha is limited in scope, has a specific local object. Every man has the right, nay, it is his duty to resist an arbitrary unjust levy as the Bardoli assessment is claimed to be by its ryots. But though the object of the proposed satyagraha is local and specific, it has an all-India application. What is true of Bardoli is true of many parts of India. The struggle has also an indirect bearing on swaraj. Whatever awakens people to a sense of their wrongs and whatever gives them strength for disciplined and peaceful resistance and habituates them for corporate suffering brings us nearer swaraj.

Young India, 8-3-1928

101. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 8, 1928

MY DEAR MURIEL,

This will be presented to you by Mr. Rajendra Prasad, one of the best among my co-workers. You will show him all your activities and know all about me and the Ashram from him.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

MISS MURIEL LESTER

From a photostat: G.N. 6566

102. LETTER TO SIR DANIEL M. HAMILTON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 9, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Our common friend Rev. Mr. Hodge tells me that you were complaining of absence of acknowledgment from me of the hand-woven scarf you have kindly sent me as also your two papers on the banking system. I have a vivid recollection that when I was convalescing in Bangalore last year I sent you a brief note of thanks. Evidently that letter has miscarried.[1] Please therefore regard this as a token of my thanks for your kind gift and for the very interesting papers which you sent me.

Your description of the Scotch banking system was very instructive for me. I have now received a copy of your evidence before the Statutory Commission. I know that I shall read that with interest.

Yours sincerely,

SIR DANIEL M. HAMILTON
THE WARREN HILL
LOUGHTON, ESSEX
ENGLAND

From a microfilm: S.N. 12907

[1] However, *vide* Vol. XXXIV, p. 159.

103. LETTER TO PREMLILA THACKERSEY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 9, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

I got your loving letter. Doctors will certainly advise me to go for a change of air, but I am sure I have told you what I am greedy about. As I have explained, I wish to take a change and also do my work at the same time, and I have been writing to friends with that end in view. Ordinarily, I would certainly love to be your guest. I shall keep your invitation in mind if I go to Sinhgadh for a change. I am keeping well.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4811. Courtesy: Premlila Thackersey

104. LETTER TO REVASHANKER JHAVERI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 9, 1928

RESPECTED REVASHANKERBHAI,

I had asked Mahadev to write to you but I am afraid that he forgot to mention one thing in the letter. Mahadev is not here so that I can ask him. I wanted him to write about Dr. Ansari. There is no doubt that Dr. Ansari is a very intelligent man, but he has no special knowledge of this subject. He has a high opinion of a Swiss doctor's remedy, which consists in serum drawn from many horses. That doctor charges £1,000 for one tube, but the serum does not necessarily benefit everyone. Nor do all doctors in Europe accept this man's treatment as scientific. I don't think we need go in for it. We should put Dhiru in the hands of a good doctor and then rest content.

I have now started taking milk. I keep good health.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1278

105. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 10, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your two letters. They only confirm the fears that were raised in me on reading the sensational reports about boycott and I feel sorry that Dr. Ray signed the manifesto which he knew was perfectly useless.

I do not like the proposal contained in your article. I think we must not be mixed up with the use of foreign yarn under any circumstances whatsoever. We must leave it to regulate itself or to those who have not a living faith in khadi. If we mix ourselves up with the use of foreign yarn, you will see that we shall have surrendered our position. I want you to consider this well and confine your assistance and activity to the supply of khadi if they want it. Our own mills may come in if they wish to and if they will develop the national spirit. But even there, our institution will have to be most cautious.

I am glad that Hemprabhadevi, Nikhil and Tarini have gone to Giridih. I received a very despondent letter from Hemprabhadevi. She was herself reported to be unwell. Please let me know all about her condition.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1587

106. LETTER TO IDA S. SCUDDER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 10, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am thankful to you for remembering Mrs. Gandhi and me in connection with the opening ceremony of your building. You will be interested to learn that there is no hospital and no institution where there is a ward endowed in my name. If there was, it would be a fraud. For, how can a ward be endowed in my name when I have not one farthing to pay for it. If I can induce friends to endow wards or beds, the endowment should be in their names. But I can think of none to whom I can speak about endowing a hospital ward. All influence is exhausted in asking them to endow spinning-wheels and institutions for the so-called untouchables or for a member of the dumb creation, the cow.

Yours sincerely,

MISS IDA S. SCUDDER
VELLORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13093

107. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 10, 1928

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I have your letter. As a man may not look a gift horse in the mouth, I must accept your terms and waive the interest[1] to which the Ashram is legitimately entitled. Be sure that Sjt. Kothari is not as lenient as I am and, unless you pay your debt to him in time, he is likely to charge a proper bania interest and I shouldn't wonder if he insists upon compound interest.

About Lala Suraj Bhanu, I see that the Managing Board here are disinclined to let him come with his wife. A letter is being

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dunichand", 29-2-1928.

posted to him with reasons for their decision. And, if it is true that he desires to go on a cycling tour after a time, the Ashram is hardly the institution where he should recuperate for such a tour. It is designed for those who choose some humble occupation contributing to national uplift and go on with it with dogged pertinacity irrespective of results.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13094

103. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 10, 1928

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I have your letter. I think the best course is for you to refund the loan and then put in an application for a grant and let the grant be considered on its merits. I would personally feel inclined to favour the grant, but I have undertaken not to influence the Council unless it refers matters to me.

I hope you are keeping good health.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN
E-76 COLLEGE STREET MARKET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13100

109. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 10, 1928

DEAR DR. ROY,

What is this bill[1] and where should I pay it from if I am expected to do so? For I am myself living on public charity. I may not use Ashram funds for a private purpose. It is no [small] indulgence that I give myself the benefit of expert assistance and advice which I cannot place equally easily at the disposal of every inmate of the Ashram. But for me to pay Rs. 46 or anything at all for analysis of my blood or any other constituents of the body would be the last straw. If, therefore, this bill has got to be paid, the payment has to come out of your generous pocket.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13102

110. LETTER TO A. S. MANNADI NAYAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 10, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have forwarded it to Dr. Roy with a letter[2] copy of which I enclose herewith. You will appreciate the moral difficulty that faces me. Though I have claimed to be the richest person perhaps in the world, you will realize at the same time the depths of my poverty. I quite recognize that between Dr. Roy and myself you should not be made to suffer. But if you cannot get relief from him or from Captain Basu, you will treat this incident as a lesson never to have anything to do with

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

Mahatmas or those who use their names. Mahatmas are the most slippery customers treading on this overburdened earth.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. S. MANNADI NAYAR
PROFESSOR OF BIOCHEMISTRY
MADRAS MEDICAL COLLEGE
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 13101

111. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 10, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have again to acknowledge with thanks a further contribution of 10 dollars for the relief fund. All these amounts have been passed on to the Secretary of the Relief Fund Committee. But I hope that you have adopted some means of conveying to the donors my sincere thanks for their generosity.

About the general situation here, I would warn you against going by newspaper reports. Whilst there is the bitterest resentment over the Commission camouflage, we are not yet organized enough to offer effective non-violent resistance though I have faith enough that that resistance is inevitable and is coming some day not very far [off].

Yours sincerely,

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
12 PARK AVENUE AND 34TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 15181

112. LETTER TO RAMI GANDHI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 10, 1928

CHI. RAMI,

So this time I did get a letter from you. I hope all of you are keeping well. Chi. Kumi is arriving tomorrow. Tulsidas is going to Bombay. Chi. Devdas has gone to Delhi. I am keeping well. Give up the habit of beating children and getting angry with them. You can take a lot of work from them by amusing them. Food habits should be regular.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9708

113. MY NOTES

THE LATE SIR RAMANBHAI

Sir Ramanbhai has passed away leaving Gujarat in tears. Ramanbhai embodies the history of modernism in Gujarat. Ramanbhai stands for social reform. Ramanbhai was the friend of the poor. He was the warp and woof of the civic life of Ahmedabad. His service to the Gujarati language was of a very high standard. His high moral code never failed to leave an impression on whosoever came into contact with him. Ramanbhai's humour permeates his works. He did not however look upon life as something of a jest. He found the fulfilment of his life in devoting it to the performance of duty. Ramanbhai would indeed help any good cause. In matters of national welfare he always contributed his full share.

He never hesitated or spared himself in anything that he regarded as service. In spite of his serious illness and in spite of severe differences in political matters he recognized the value of Vallabhbhai's service to the municipality and he unfailingly co-operated with him to the utmost whenever occasion arose. There could hardly be a public institution in Ahmedabad which did not wish to have Ramanbhai's name associated with it.

The loss of such a jewel of Gujarat will not be felt by his family members alone; the whole of Gujarat shares this grief of separation.

Nowadays, it has become customary to underestimate the quiet, unostentatious service of persons who do not take part in politics, especially in active politics. In my humble opinion this is a mistake though time will certainly rectify it. He who wipes the tears of even a single widow, who saves a single young girl from the immolation miscalled marriage, who renders selfless service to a single *Antyaja*, serves the country and society in a pure manner, and it is likely that, when the fight put up by a valiant political warrior is forgotten, this other service done in some obscure corner will still keep bearing fruit. That service which is accompanied not by ovations but by God's blessings is indeed true service. Such was the service rendered by Ramanbhai. He received his share of ovations too, but why describe what Ramanbhai never cared for! He was a brave warrior. Who has not seen him stick to his views as well as his own place amidst the whistling and shouting of young men? Let us pray that we inherit his virtues.

Lord Sinha

India has suffered a great loss in the death of Lord Sinha. He was a pillar of India. He had reached the highest office on the strength of his intellect. Although it is true that that office has little value in this age of non-co-operation, the abilities that were required in order to reach it have much value. Lord Sinha did not go out of his way to seek office. It could be said on the contrary that offices came seeking him. However, I do not wish to discuss here the various offices that he held at different times. The reader must have come to know of these from other newspapers. I wish to give a short account of my acquaintance with him.

I saw him for the first time at the Congress in 1915. This was my second experience of the Congress. At this session, I came to know only of his intellectual powers. Everyone appreciated his erudite speech. His criticism of the Empire carried weight. Everyone on the Congress Working Committee admired the way in which he transacted business.

We cannot all emulate his intellectual powers. There was however one quality of his, of which I came to know at a reception in his honour, which we could all imitate, and that is his humility.

I came to know more of this quality at the time of Deshbandhu Das Memorial Fund. All of us felt that the association of

his name with the raising of this Fund would indeed be welcome. Persons belonging to all parties felt that, if his name was associated with it, it would facilitate the raising of the Fund and that this would make people from all parties readily associate themselves with it. I was among those who approached him. He was in indifferent health at that time; but he would meet people whenever necessary. He willingly agreed to the inclusion of his name and also agreed to give all possible help. On these occasions, I became well aware of his humility, his courtesy and his greatness and I felt that India would add to her prestige if all our elder statesmen possessed these qualities. I noticed that he did not crave for respect but was always eager to show respect to others. Those who do not crave for respect deserve it; privileges cling to those who try to shake them off. Lord Sinha happened to be in this happy situation. May all of us inherit that humility and that courtesy.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-3-1928

114. WHO WILL ACCEPT THE ANTYAJAS' HUNDI?

This *hundi*[1] should have been put out earlier. But as the saying goes the affairs of the sick are managed in a sickly manner and its publication was delayed. It is therefore expected that those who are prepared to accept it would send in their contributions, along with the interest, to Bhai Mulchand Parekh. Not all Hindus like to serve the *Antyajas*. Hence I hope that those who regard untouchability as a disease of the Hindu faith will remember that they have a twofold duty to help this cause.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-3-1928

[1] An informal bill of exchange or a cheque. Here Gandhiji uses the word to describe his appeal for funds.

115. LETTER TO JANE HOWARD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your long letter. I endorse every word of what you say about Mrs. Gandhi and the wretched incident I have related in the autobiographical chapters.[1] Of course you have not imagined that I am in any way proud of recalling the brutality or that I am today capable of any such brutality. But I thought that if people recognize me as a gentle peace-loving man, they should also know that at one time I could be a positive beast even though at the same time I claimed to be a loving husband. It was not without good cause that a friend once described me as a combination of sacred cow and ferocious tiger.

It would have been a pity if you had burnt your beautiful letter as at one time you thought you should. You have certainly not appeared to me to be rude or ill-mannered but most natural and on that account lovable. I do indeed wish that I had come in closer contact with your dear brother, but I knew him enough to love him and to appreciate his sterling worth.

Yours sincerely,

MISS JANE HOWARD
'ROSEMARY'
50 PANDORA ROAD
MALVERN
JOHANNESBURG
(TRANSVAAL, S. AFRICA)

From a photostat: S.N. 11967

[1] *Vide An Autobiography*, Pt. IV, Ch. X.

116. LETTER TO B. W. TUCKER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 12, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I like the manner in which you are combating my views. I discovered the difference between us even in Orissa. For me, there is no difference between the individual and the social position. At the same time there is ample room for the compromise of the nature suggested by you, for the simple reason that I ever compromise my own ideals even in individual conduct not because I wish to but because the compromise was inevitable. And so in social and political matters I have never exacted complete fulfilment of the ideal in which I have believed. But there are always times when one has to say thus far and no further, and, each time the dividing line has to be determined on merits. Generally speaking where the sum total of a movement has been evil, I have held non-co-operation to be the only remedy and where the sum total has been for the good of humanity, I have held co-operation on the basis of compromise to be the most desirable thing. If I seem to be holding myself aloof from some of the political movements just now, it is because I believe their tendency to be not for the promotion of swaraj but rather its retarding. It may be that I have erred in my judgment. If so, it is but human and I have never claimed to be infallible. You will see this point somewhat developed in a recent autobiographical chapter dealing with my participation in the late War.[1] Tell me now if I have answered your question, even if I have not solved the puzzle.

Andrews is here and will be for a few days longer. How nice it would be if you could come and pass a few days of quiet with me so that we could discuss the important problems you have been raising in your letters. This is however not to say that you may not discuss them through correspondence. Please do, so long as it is necessary.

Yours sincerely,

B. W. TUCKER
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13104

[1] *Vide An Autobiography*, Pt. IV, Ch. XXXVIII.

117. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 12, 1928

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

With reference to a letter by the Secretary to the Association dated 1st March, I want to say that in spite of all the difficulties in our way we must aim at getting a complete list of the spinners who bring their yarn to the common bazaar. I hold it to be absolutely necessary for the movement itself. If we are to really serve these spinners, we must establish direct contact with them. It may take a little time but our work is incomplete till we know our spinners and know them in their own homes and see how they work, where they get their cotton, how they pass their time otherwise and so on and so forth. If we would consider this to be a necessary part of our work there will be no question of sparing or not sparing workers, just as there will be no question as to the keeping of our accounts or knowing the quality and the quantity of yarn we receive. I have no time to say more to you. I speak to you on other matters through Krishnadas. I hope there is no trouble about the seat of operation now.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13105

118. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 12, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

I have received all your letters.

You must be well by now. Even if you are not I wish you to be healthy. God has ordained that our mind must be "untroubled by sorrows and long not for joys".[1] It is on such occasions that we have to use our learning; that is its true purpose. You should give up thinking constantly of Anil. His body was

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 56

composed of the five elements, and in them it has merged. The soul is immortal. Then why worry? Let us say with Mirabai: "Let what must happen happen." It is Rama's will that is done, in this belief we must rest content. Keep reading carefully in Tulsidas's work on the power and glory of Ramanama. May Ramanama sustain us in life and may we have it on our lips when we die. Let this be your constant prayer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: G.N. 1655

119. LETTER TO TREASURER, AJMAL JAMIA FUND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 13, 1928

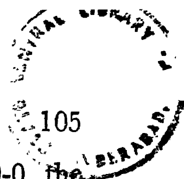
THE HON. TREASURER
AJMAL JAMIA FUND
395/97 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

RE: Ajmal Jamia Fund
Your letter dated 10th inst.

I am sorry to say that you have not replied to my letter of the 3rd instant. Mr. Zakir Husain, Jamia Millia, Delhi, has under instructions from Seth Jamnalalji been sending to us copies of lists sent to you of donations received by him for the above Fund and deposited by him in the Central Bank of India, Delhi. We have published his first list on 8th March in *Young India.* He has sent us another one for Rs. 1,492-13-0 which we are publishing in the forthcoming issue of *Young India.* We have added to the list the names you have sent to us on 3rd as also on 10th instant. We would request you to compare the lists up to now published in *Young India* with your account books and let us know if there are any discrepancies so that we may correct the same in the next issue. You will please advise us also as to whether we could publish the lists that are being sent by Mr. Zakir Husain from time to time. Or if not, would you kindly [send them so as to] reach us not later than Monday every week?

I wonder how you were able to get Rs. 1,559-0-0 as per the list



sent by you on 3rd March when you have taken Rs. 1,254-0-0, the amount previously acknowledged in *Young India*.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 14911

120. *WHAT CAN OUR MILLS DO?*

Everybody is anxious that at this critical juncture in our history, we should be able to exhibit some real strength. It is being more and more realized that such strength can be developed and shown only through boycott of foreign cloth as distinguished from British cloth. In this boycott it is possible for our mills to play an important, indeed a decisive, part if they wish.

Some day or other they will have to choose between this alien Government and the people. There is no doubt that to a large extent they are dependent for their existence upon the toleration if not the goodwill of the Government. Thoreau told the truth when he said that possession of riches under an evil government was a sin and poverty was virtue. The riches of the rich are always at the disposal of the government of the day whether it is good or bad.

But if the mills are dependent for their existence on the toleration or goodwill of the Government, they are no less so on the toleration or goodwill of the people. They can afford to ignore the people only so long as the latter remain ignorant, supine or disunited. But the past seven years have not been lived in vain by the nation. The mass awakening that has taken place will never die. No one can tell when and how the people will show their strength.

But the mills occupy a privileged position. By showing a little courage, a little consideration for the true interests of the nation and by exercising a little self-sacrifice they can serve both the Government and the people. They can convert the Government and advance the people's cause.

This is how in my humble opinion they can do it:

They can standardize their prices taking the lowest average of a number of top and lean years.

They can come to terms with the leaders organizing boycott as to the quantity and quality of cloth required for the nation.

They can refrain from manufacturing those varieties that can be easily and immediately produced by khadi organizations, thus

freeing their energy for manufacturing more of the varieties they can at the present moment more easily manufacture than the khadi organizations.

They can limit their profits to a minimum and let the surplus, if any, be devoted to the fulfilment of the boycott or, if that be unnecessary, to the improvement of the condition of the labourers.

This would mean all-round honesty, perseverance, mutual trust, a voluntary and honourable triple alliance between labour, capital and the consumer. It would mean capacity for organization on a vast scale. And if we are to attain boycott of foreign cloth through non-violence, we shall have some day or other to fulfil the tests just enumerated by me.

In my humble opinion we are eminently fitted for the task. The organization required for the purpose is not unfamiliar to us. The only question is, have we the will? Have the mill-owners enough vision, enough love of the country? If they have, they can take the lead.

Let me redeclare my own faith. For boycott to be swiftly brought about a combination between khadi and truly indigenous mills is desirable, but not absolutely necessary. I use the words truly indigenous, because we have bogus mills in India which are Indian only in the sense that they are located in the country but whose shareholders, whose management, whose spirit are mainly, when not wholly, foreign. But if the indigenous mills cannot or will not lead or join the national movement, I am convinced that khadi alone can achieve the boycott if the politically-minded India has the will, the faith and the energy required for the purpose. We have not enough horsepower expressed through steam engines, oil engines or electricity, but we have an inexhaustible reservoir of manpower lying idle and pleading to be used, and essentially qualified for the purpose. Oh, for a faith that would see and use this supply of living power!

Young India, 15-3-1928

121. *HOW TO DO IT?*

Notice has already been taken in these pages of the West Khandesh Zilla Mandal of which Sjt. Shankarrao Dev is the founder president and guardian angel. This Mandal has village reconstruction as its principal activity, and has become convinced that spinning must be the centre of every activity connected with reconstruction, if it is to prosper and respond to the deep poverty of the masses. All its work is as thorough as it can be made. Sjt. S. V. Thakkar has been training himself for some time before settling down in a village for reconstruction service. He has been travelling together with Sjt. Balubhai Mehta in those centres where such activity is going on. The brief report he has presented to the president of his Mandal is worth reading. I therefore reproduce the main part of it for the guidance of those who do this work:[1]

Young India, 15-3-1928

122. *NOTES*

A.I.S.A. MEMBERSHIP

The foregoing summaries[2] tell their own tale. There is a drop from the figures of 1927 in all the three classes. The reason is that there has been little or no canvassing for membership because the policy of the Association rightly has been not to incur any expenses over sacrificial spinning. It loses all merit when it requires to be canvassed and stimulated through paid agency. But the membership can be easily doubled if every member were to undertake to find one new member. It is worthy of note that whilst the membership has decreased, there has been a marked increase in the production and sale of khadi as well as in the number of spinners who spin for hire.

For the information of juveniles, I reproduce below the resolution of the Council of the Association. National schools can do a great deal for increasing the number of juvenile members:

[1] The report is not reproduced here.
[2] Not reproduced here

Resolved that a B class of juvenile members of the Association be created, consisting of persons below 18 years of age who habitually wear khadi and contribute to the Association an annual subscription of 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn well-twisted and uniform.

INSTRUCTIVE FIGURES

I have been always repeating at public meetings that 50,000 spinners were being served by the All-India Spinners' Association in 1,500 villages. This statement was based on the figures compiled by the All-India Spinners' Association on the basis of yarn production and was made in 1927. Since then more than a year has passed. An attempt was made to arrive at the total number from direct evidence, i.e., by taking a census of spinners and incidentally of weavers and carders supported by the All-India Spinners' Association. The table[1] appended to this note gives those figures. It will be seen that all the provinces have not made their returns nor have all the organizations in the provinces that have sent their figures been able to comply with the requirements of the All-India Spinners' Association. The figures given below are therefore in every way an underestimate and yet they are a decided advance upon 50,000 spinners and 1,500 villages. But this is merely a foretaste of the possibilities of a movement which awaits the tangible support of an enlightened public opinion. There is an illimitable scope for production of khadi if demand can only be guaranteed.

Young India, 15-3-1928

123. STILL AT IT

The autobiographical chapter dealing with my participation in the late War continues to puzzle friends and critics. Here is one more letter:[2]

No doubt it was a mixed motive that prompted me to participate in the War. Two things I can recall. Though as an individual I was opposed to war, I had no status for offering effec-

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] Not reproduced here. Referring to Chapters XXXVIII and XXXIX of Part IV of the Autobiography the correspondent had asked: "What impelled you to participate in the War? Was it right to join the War with the hope of gaining something? I do not know how to reconcile this with the teaching of the *Gita* which says that we should never act with a view to the fruits of action."

tive non-violent resistance. Non-violent resistance can only follow some real disinterested service, some heart-expression of love. For instance, I would have no status to resist a savage offering animal sacrifice until he could recognize in me his friend through some loving act of mine or other means. I do not sit in judgment upon the world for its many misdeeds. Being imperfect myself and needing toleration and charity, I tolerate the world's imperfections till I find or create an opportunity for fruitful expostulation. I felt that if by sufficient service I could attain the power and the confidence to resist the Empire's wars and its warlike preparations, it would be a good thing for me who was seeking to enforce non-violence in my own life to test the extent to which it was possible among the masses.

The other motive was to qualify for swaraj through the good offices of the statesmen of the Empire. I could not thus qualify myself except through serving the Empire in its life-and-death struggle. It must be understood that I am writing of my mentality in 1914 when I was a believer in the Empire and its willing ability to help India in her battle for freedom. Had I been the non-violent rebel that I am today, I should certainly not have helped but through every effort open to non-violence I should have attempted to defeat its purpose.

My opposition to and disbelief in war was as strong then as it is today. But we have to recognize that there are many things in the world which we do although we may be against doing them. I am as much opposed to taking the life of the lowest creature alive as I am to war. But I continually take such life hoping some day to attain the ability to do without this fratricide. To entitle me in spite of it to be called a votary of non-violence, my attempt must be honest, strenuous and unceasing. The conception of *moksha*, absolution from the need to have an embodied existence, is based upon the necessity of perfected men and women being completely non-violent. Possession of a body like every other possession necessitates some violence, be it ever so little. The fact is that the path of duty is not always easy to discern amidst claims seeming to conflict one with the other.

Lastly, the verse referred to from the *Gita* has a double meaning. One is that there should be no selfish purpose behind our actions. That of gaining swaraj is not a selfish purpose. Secondly, to be detached from fruits of actions is not to be ignorant of them, or to disregard or disown them. To be detached is never to abandon action because the contemplated result may not follow.

On the contrary, it is proof of immovable faith in the certainty of the contemplated result following in due course.

Young India, 15-3-1928

124. LETTER TO NILRATAN SIRCAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 16, 1928

DEAR SRI NILRATAN SIRCAR,

I have established in connection with the Ashram a little tannery where I am not making use of power-driven machinery. The idea is to have a model tannery to serve the village population. Can you or anyone in your big undertaking help me with literature on tanning to be of use for the little enterprise commenced at the Ashram and give me any hints for my guidance?

May I ask you to share this letter with Mr. Das of the Research Tannery if you have not proposed it yourself and procure for me similar assistance from him?

We are all at the Ashram without any knowledge of conducting tanneries, and what I want to do is to learn from the beginning, i.e., how to skin dead cattle and treat hide from the very commencement as it comes out of the carcass.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 11394

125. LETTER TO MADHUSUDAN DAS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 16, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

After a great deal of thought and bother I have established at the Ashram a little bit of a tannery without any power-driven machinery and without skilled assistance save that of a man who has received a rough-and-tumble experience of tanning in America and who is a crank like myself. Though I did not succeed in sharing your troubles and taking the load off your shoulders in connection with your own great national enterprise, your inspira-

tion is partly responsible for the establishment of this little tannery at the Ashram. Can you please help me with a list of literature on the subject, a handbook on tanning and the like? If you think that there is nothing like it in English, will you out of your own wide and varied experience write out something that may be of use for propaganda, just a few hints? What is happening at the Tannery? Who is in charge? I may add that my idea is to make the Ashram Tannery a model for villages so that the villagers may be able to treat their own dead cattle and make use of the hide themselves. I have asked many people without success as to how I can skin dead cattle. Everybody knowing anything of tanning has something to say about hides after they are received from the village tanner; but nobody has yet told me if I take charge of a dead animal I can skin the carcass economically and hygienically and make use of other contents such as bones, intestine, etc., for purposes of manure.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. MADHUSUDAN DAS
MISSION ROAD
CUTTACK

From a photostat: S.N. 11395

126. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 16, 1928

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I see you are already in harness. Brij Krishna, who was here when I received your letter, has promised to send you name and address of a good man after he reaches Delhi. He went today and expects to be in Delhi in two days' time.

You must get Gangabehn now to write to me. I hope you will all keep much better health than you did at Brindaban.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. T. GIDWANI
6 QUEENS ROAD
KARACHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13107

127. LETTER TO V. S. BHASKARAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 16, 1928

MY DEAR BHASKARAN,

I have your letter. I am glad the matter is now settled and that you are not to suffer any appreciable pecuniary loss.

I hope you will get a satisfactory letter from Rajaji.

What are you doing now?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13108

128. LETTER TO SHANKER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 16, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKER,

I have your letter. I have, so far as letters are concerned, neglected you entirely; but you have never been out of my mind especially because I am myself taking an active part in the conduct of the kitchen and I give early in the morning about an hour shredding vegetables which is my contribution to the joint work. Giriraj was feeling weak and overworked. He has therefore gone to the model village which is being constructed these days and Pyarelal has taken his charge for the time being.

I am keeping well. I am sorry to say that I was obliged to revert to the milk diet though there is hope of my being able to return to fruits and nuts.

The massage that you saw me take is still being taken. The Swedish lady's massage is in addition. It is a very simple thing.

Tell Mathuradas that I get no time to write.

From a photostat: S.N. 13109

129. LETTER TO VIOLET

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 17, 1928

MY DEAR VIOLET,

I have your long and interesting letter. I honour your opinion but I cannot agree with you. It surprises me however to find that you do not see any distinction between a private person committing a private wrong and a public person or a corporation committing a public wrong. How can people gag individual conduct in the manner you suggest? That is a matter of social reform and therefore of individuals living correct lives and [not] letting them, i.e., lives, afflict and inflict their surroundings.

Yours sincerely,

[SHRIMATI VIOLET
C/o] MRS. LILY MUTHUKRISHNA
445 HAMDEN LANE
WELLAWATTE
COLOMBO
CEYLON

From a photostat: S.N. 13110

130. LETTER TO N. D. BHOSLE[1]

SABARMATI,
March 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now heard from Mr. Jayakar and I see from it that Sir Purushottamdas is no longer the president. This, however, is the opinion he forwards to me:

> He is however of opinion that the scheme is a useful one. He suggests one caution to you that any help that you may be inclined to give, if it is to take the form of a collection of funds, should be conditioned that its control in the way of investment or disbursement should

[1] This was written in connection with the addressee's plan for a hostel for the depressed-class students at Bombay. Later a copy of this letter was sent as an enclosure to "Letter to Baban Gokhalay', 22-12-1928; *vide* Vol. XXXVIII.

be in the hands of a few men of your own choice whose veracity and judgment could be implicitly trusted. He assures that the scheme has a strong potentiality of being useful to the community, and deserves your support. The funds at present in the hands of the office-bearers are only a few hundred rupees, and unless they are supplemented it will be difficult for the institution to commence its work.

It therefore resolves itself into what I have suggested all along the line that there should be a proper trust-deed. I can now only suggest that you should see Seth Jamnalalji when he comes to Bombay which he will do in two or three days. I am giving him all the papers and if he is satisfied about the trust, I shall be in a position to do something.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Jayakar Private Papers, Correspondence File No. 422. Courtesy: National Archives of India

131. *TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

[*March 17, 1928*][1]

NEWSPAPER REPORTS ABSOLUTELY INCORRECT. I AM QUITE WELL.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 91

132. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

[*March 17, 1928*][2]

I got your wire just now. This time the newspaper reporters have perpetrated a crime. They should be prosecuted for that. But what can we do, since we are non-co-operators? I am quite all right.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 91

[1] & [2] From the source

133. *THE WEAPON OF BOYCOTT*

It has been reported that the satyagrahis of Bardoli are getting ready to use the weapon of boycott against those who agree to pay the revenue to the Government. This weapon is a powerful one and the satyagrahi can use it only within limits. Boycott can be violent as well as non-violent. It is only the latter kind that a satyagrahi may use. At the moment I will only give examples of the two forms of boycott.

Non-violent boycott may mean not accepting any service. Refusal to serve may involve violence.

Non-violent boycott may include a refusal to dine at the house of the person boycotted, refusal to attend marriages and such other functions at his place, doing no business with him and, taking no help from him.

On the other hand, refusing to nurse the boycotted person if he is sick, not allowing doctors to visit him, refusing to help in performing the last rites if he happens to die, refusing to allow him to make use of wells, temples, etc., all this is violent boycott. Deeper reflection will reveal that non-violent boycott can be continued for a long period and no external force can prove effectual in terminating it, whereas violent boycott cannot continue for long and external force can be used in a large measure to put an end to it. Ultimately violent boycott only does disservice to a movement. Many such instances can be quoted from the era of non-co-operation. However, on this occasion, the distinction that I have pointed out should be enough for the satyagrahis and the workers of Bardoli.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-3-1928

134. TELEGRAM TO N. R. MALKANI

SABARMATI,
March 19, 1928

MALKANI FLOOD RELIEF COMMITTEE
HYDERABAD SIND

YOU SHOULD RESIGN.[1]

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 883

135. LETTER TO JAL KHAMBHATTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 19, 1928

CHI. JAL,

I am sorry to hear that you are not well. Have faith that not a leaf falls without God's will, and so, trusting to Him, meditate on Him and have patience. If it is His will, you will be all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5013. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

136. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 19, 1928

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I got your letter only today. You certainly have my blessings for your son. I see no reason why you should feel nervous and run to Europe. We must have trust in God. If some good doctor there is prepared to take the risk, I see no harm in getting the

[1] *Vide* "Letter to N. R. Malkani", 20-3-1928.

operation performed locally. Have you consulted junior Deshmukh? Tell Chi. Jal to be brave. Write to me again and let me know the developments. How is your health now?

If no doctor there is prepared to take the risk and if you do not feel at peace, certainly go to Europe. Do not treat my letter as a prohibitory order. I only wish to explain to you that we must do nothing in haste and, realizing that this body is perishable, should not be excessively attached to it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5012. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

137. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

March 19, 1928

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

Of course you come whenever you can and stay as long as you will.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9607

138. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 19, 1928

MY DEAR C.R.,

I have your letter. You are out of court about your dietetics for your hopeless protest, namely, your spinning yarns about almonds and poor groundnuts, the food of the Himalayan race. Take notice that the experiment is only suspended to enable me to return to it, unhampered by the weight of so-called medical opinion. I lived on raw groundnuts for at least 6 years without coming to grief of the sort referred to by you. But of this later.

What about Europe? My anxiety is to meet Rolland. He appears to be the wisest man of Europe. He takes an unusual interest in me and feels grieved if he thinks that in any single thing my

opinion is wrong. It seems to me that it would be a tragedy if we do not meet. This is the cause that moves me above all else. The rest is thrown in.

I do not know what Andrews has written to you. But your opinion will have with me as much weight as Andrews's. Therefore say without fear what you will have me do.

Many are grieved that I did not die on the 17th. . . . Perhaps I am one among them. Perhaps I did die a kind of death. We shall see.

From a photostat: S.N. 13111

139. LETTER TO M. R. MADHAVA WARRIER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is difficult to guide you from this distance. But I suggest your going as slow as possible but steadily. If you will launch out on an ambitious scheme, you will find that it would prove to be embarrassing in the long run.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. R. MADHAVA WARRIER, B.A., LL.B.
PRESIDENT, MUNICIPAL COUNCIL
QUILON
TRAVANCORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13115

140. *LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. You must have had my telegram.[1] I couldn't possibly reconcile myself to the idea of your remaining in the College simply for the sake of being able to draw upon it for your maintenance. I see no harm in Flood Relief Fund supporting you. I am in correspondence with Thakkar Bapa about it and if it can be done without in any shape or form compromising your present position, it should be done. Whether you receive the money through me or the Flood Relief Committee, it would be from a public fund. We must get rid of there being shame in honorary services being paid in the sense in which we use the word 'honorary'. The labourer is worthy of his hire, and, all service is honorary when the servant takes no more than his hire. That your hire has to be above the normal in other parts of India is unfortunate but inevitable. If your honorarium cannot be decently drawn from the Flood Fund, I shall hold myself responsible for it. But I want you to tell me how much you will require.

Thakkar Bapa tells me that he is going to send you a good worker from the Bhil Ashram and that he had left one with you already. But if you have anybody particularly in mind, please do not hesitate to name him and I shall see whether he can be spared.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 884

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to N. R. Malkani", 19-3-1928.

141. *LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

MY DEAR SURESH BABU,

I have seen the letter from the Secretary regarding the number of spinners served by you. Do you not see that it is as essential for you to reach your spinners as it is for you to keep your books in a thoroughly good order? If you do not take this precaution, you will find that the organization will one day collapse like a house of cards. It does not matter whose yarn in the particular week day you have received but it does matter that you send some reliable person to the people who are actually spinning and find out their condition and talk to them. Surely, it is neither an impossible task nor a very elaborate one. When the spinners who come to the middle men to sell their yarn return home you have simply to follow them to their homes and, if they avoid you once, they won't avoid you always. They will give you their confidence immediately they cease to distrust you. You must have some middle men at least who are fairly honest and who will not mind taking your messenger to the very homes from which they receive their yarn. And if this very simple thing is beyond your capacity, you are manifestly at the mercy of the middle men to whom it is open any day to stop their custom or to impose conditions which will be either impossible of acceptance or hurtful to your self-respect. I wish therefore that you will realize the importance of the suggestion which Mr. Banker has been making from time to time at my instance.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13113

142. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have received your two letters. I write just now only to fulfil the promise to send you a message for the friend you mentioned.[1] He has now written directly to me, but as I promised the message to you, here it is.

I hope you are following my articles on boycott and mills. I am having conferences with the mill-owners also. Whether they will come to anything I do not know. But if anything appears to you wrong or weak you will please let me know.

How is Kamala doing? Where are you going to keep her during the hot season?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13116

143. MESSAGE TO MARCELLE CAPY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

There can be no living harmony between races and nations unless the main cause is removed, namely, exploitation of the weak by the strong. We must revise the interpretation of the so-called doctrine of "the survival of the fittest".

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13117

[1] *Vide* the following item.

144. LETTER TO MARCELLE CAPY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Before I got it, I had received your message through our common friend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. As I was under promise to him before I received your letter, I have sent my message[1] through him.

Yours sincerely,

MARCELLE CAPY
78 RUE DE L'ASSOMPTION
PARIS (FRANCE)

From a photostat: S.N. 14264

145. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

DEAR DR. ROY,

I have your letter for which I thank you.

The news in the Press about Dr. Ansari's visit was wholly libellous. It upset so many friends and I had to answer cables even from Johannesburg and Siam. You have now I suppose seen the correction that Dr. Ansari's visit had nothing to do with my health. If it had, you as one of the keepers of my body would also have certainly known something about it directly from the Ashram. Dr. Ansari came with Jamnalalji and Dr. Zakir Husain purely in connection with the National Muslim University and as he came he brought the instrument of torture and was bound to examine me. Upon examination he found me

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

in a satisfactory condition, systolic registering 149 and diastolic 92 in the morning and in the evening s. 152 and d. 98.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN C. ROY
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13120

146. LETTER TO ZAKIR HUSAIN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

MY DEAR ZAKIR,

I have your letter and copy of Lord Irwin's letter.[1] Lord Irwin's letter makes it doubly useful to send the letter principally in accordance with the draft[2] made by me. Of course it will require necessary changes. I hope you will send me copy of the letter that Dr. Ansari may finally write.

I do not know whether Devdas has drawn your attention to the fact that the sanitary condition of the quarters requires careful attention. I would like you to ask Devdas to point out the defects he might have noticed.

I hope you will lose no time in issuing invitations[3] and following up the programme we jointly discussed and settled when you were at the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13119

[1] With his letter, dated March 17, 1928, Zakir Husain had sent to Gandhiji a copy of the then Viceroy Lord Irwin's letter, dated March 16, 1928, addressed to Dr. Ansari which *inter alia* read: ". . . I would willingly subscribe to it on the general grounds that the late Hakim Ajmal Khan had devoted his life to the relief of the sick and that a memorial of the kind proposed seemed to me well fitted to perpetuate his memory. I have now learnt from Hakim Ajmal Khan ['s son] that an appeal is afoot and I am therefore associating myself with it. . . ."

[2] This is not available.

[3] Zakir Husain had written in his letter: "I hope to issue the invitation to members of Jamia Foundation Committee as soon as Dr. Ansari is back" (S.N. 14913).

147. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 20, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

It is a sad thing this boycott movement. I want you to read carefully my article on mills and boycott[1]. I am keeping myself in touch with the mill-owners also. If you detect a flaw in my argument, you will not hesitate to draw my attention to it.

The telegram about my health was wholly libellous this time because it was absolutely without any foundation. So far as I know, I have never been in better health. Dr. Ansari and Jamnalalji came to discuss the Ajmal Khan Memorial in connection with the National Muslim University and nothing else.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13121

148. LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI

ASHRAM,
Tuesday [March 20, 1928][2]

CHI. RADHIKA,

I got your beautiful postcards. Remember all that I have told you. Take great care of your health, and love everyone. Rukhi is improving, but there is bleeding whenever she tries to walk. The doctor has examined her. You need not worry about anything on this side. Tell Durga also to write, and see that she does.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8668. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhari

[1] *Vide* "What Can Our Mills Do?", 15-3-1928.
[2] From the postmark

149. *INTERVIEW TO ALICE SCHALEK*

March 20, 1928

Mahatma Gandhi received Miss Alice Schalek on the 20th of March in the Ashram at 4 o'clock. When she entered, he said:

Please excuse me for my remaining on my seat, I cannot stand up.

MISS S.: May I ask some questions?

GANDHIJI: Of course, please do.

Q. Does your influence grow or decline?

A. A question difficult to answer, but I fancy it is growing, so far as the masses are concerned.

Q. Is it true that in your meaning the British have done no good to India? And you even regard the railways harmful?

A. Partly true. The total effect of the British rule in India has been nothing but evil. The railways have done more harm than good.

Q. Have they not been useful in famines?

A. They may serve a temporary useful purpose. But they have generally served to carry away from the villager what he needs for himself.

Q. But he gets money for it?

A. But he cannot eat the money. If you were in the desert of Sahara and you had only as much water as you needed for keeping you alive, would you sell it for any amount of gold?

Q. But are not they selling only what is superfluous?

A. They sell their birthright when they sell their raw produce. They do so because they know no better. If you have my welfare at heart, would you advise me to sell raw hide and get from you manufactured shoes, or to sell my cotton and purchase manufactured cloth? I am asking my countrymen to store their cotton and spin it into yarn and make their own cloth.

Q. They say that where there are railways there is no starvation. In case of famine, they take food quickly from a place where it is in abundance to a place where it is needed.

A. Those who laid out the railways did not think of the welfare of the people. They thought of the interest of the distant shareholders or principals. The advantage, in case of a famine, is small when we think of the counterbalancing disadvantages. It is like a robber robbing me of my all and then offering me back a trifle.

Q. Would India have been better if railways had not been here?

A. I have no doubt, other conditions being satisfied.

Q. How can the railways be made useful?

A. The policy should be so conceived as to be consistent with the real interests of the people, that is to say, they should enable people to remain self-supporting as they were before the railways came. Today they are being pauperized both in mind and body. They knew how to make the best use of their raw material. They used to turn their cotton into cloth, their hide into shoes, their corn into bread. Today the process is being reversed. I cannot consider anything more [harmful] than that millions should have to export their raw material which they can manufacture at home, and import finished products. The railways can usefully serve to transmit the finished products manufactured by the villagers from one part of the country to another.

Q. There should be a large movement to teach the people to do all these things?

A. There was ample interprovincial trade before.

Q. Is not the foreign method cheaper?

A. No. Even if it was, our own product would be cheaper at a higher cost. For instance when we in the Ashram first began to grow our vegetables they cost us more than the market vegetables. But now we grow them better and cheaper than elsewhere and our own inmates get work also.

Q. May I speak frankly? I was told in Bengal that khaddar is more expensive and coarser than British cloth, and that women who pledge themselves to wear khaddar have their underwear made of foreign cloth.

A. If khaddar is coarser, patriotism demands that measure of sacrifice. There is no doubt that we have made a considerable advance on what we used to produce some years ago and we have been able to effect considerable reduction in prices. As for the ladies you were told about, I can only say that it was not proper for them to use any foreign cloth if they were pledged to wear khadi.

Q. What are your aims and ideals?

A. I want perfect freedom for my country through non-violent and truthful means.

Q. Do you think you can reach so far through non-violence?

A. My own conviction is that we shall obtain it only through non-violence and not otherwise. I think it more possible of attainment through non-violent than through violent means.

Q. What do you mean by freedom?

A. I want the freedom to make mistakes, and freedom to unmake them, and freedom to grow to my full height and freedom to stumble also. I do not want crutches.

Q. Don't you think the British have been very helpful to India?

A. They have been most harmful in every essential particular. By "they" I mean the British Government.

Q. And why?

A. Because they have sapped the economic, mental and moral growth of the people.

Q. Don't you think they have helped in India's economic growth?

A. According to the reports of Government officials themselves, India is poorer today than it was fifty years ago. A few individuals may have become rich, but generally poverty is deepening. There has been a little transfer of wealth, but no general prosperity of the country.

Q. Government say there were never before so many purchasers.

A. It is wrong if they mean that people could not buy then and that they can buy now. It is true in the sense that whereas people did not buy many things in those days, they do so today, and there are more goods to buy.

Q. But what is the sense of boycotting British goods? England does not give preference to her own goods. There is free competition for all the nations of the world.

A. No. It is wrong. It only appears as though there was free competition. England does give preference to her goods in a variety of insidious ways. There is apparent freedom, but no true freedom. But even if the British were impartial in favouring foreigners, I would have my quarrel with them. I want preference for Indian interests.

152. LETTER TO T. DE MANZIARLY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

It was a pleasure to receive your letter after such a long time. I am sending you the two books you mention and I am adding a third—Hand-spinning Essay, the *Guide to Health* and *Takli Teacher.*

Now about the 2nd paragraph.[1] I would just like to say that whilst I am a passionate devotee of simplicity in life, I have also discovered that it is worthless unless the echo of simplicity comes from within. The modern organized artificiality of so-called civilized life cannot have any accord with true simplicity of heart. Where the two do not correspond, there is always either gross self-deception or hypocrisy.

Yours sincerely,

T. DE MANZIARLY

From a photostat: S.N. 14267

[1] The addressee in his letter dated December 27, 1927 had written: ". . . You know how I would like to see mankind realizing the necessity of becoming more simple, to have more time and more energy to be spent on truer things. . . ."

153. LETTER TO MRS. JOSEPH A. BRAUN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

It was thoughtful of you and the members of your club to send me through Mrs. Sharman a cheque for Rs. 70. I value the gift for the heart that prompted it. I am utilizing the same for supplying the needs of one who had devoted himself to propagate the message of the spinning-wheel.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. JOSEPH A. BRAUN
RFD 3
BIRMINGHAM
MICHIGAN, U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 14268

154. LETTER TO PUNJABHAI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 21, 1928

CHI. PUNJABHAI,

I have your postcard. Do come on Saturday evening. If I cannot spare time for you in the evening, I will do so on Sunday and will let you return at the time fixed by you. I hope you are now completely all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4009

155. NOTES

Charkha a Proved Want

Akbarpur in U.P. is a little place where Professor Kripalani's khadi band worked for seven years. For reasons into which I need not go, this band had to withdraw from Akbarpur. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru describes the touching scenes that followed the withdrawal and how the centre had somehow to be kept up. The following from his letter to the All-India Spinners' Association will be read with interest:

> I have told you already that the Gandhi Ashram has left Akbarpur. We have taken charge temporarily because we felt that pending your decision we ought to carry on. If we had not taken charge there would have been a break and it would have been more difficult to start afresh. Besides, on sentimental grounds also it was a little difficult to abandon the place. It has been a well-known centre for so many years and a large number of weavers and others are intimately connected with it. To leave it suddenly would have had a bad effect on the whole neighbourhood and upset the economy of a great number of poor households who were dependent on it. Indeed, we were told that some touching incidents were witnessed when the Gandhi Ashram announced that they were closing up. Many old women spinners who used to sell their yarn at a distant centre, finding this centre closed, trudged up many miles to headquarters and wept when they found that their yarn was not to be bought. Many weavers with their wives and families came up to the Akbarpur office and said they would perform satyagraha. For seven years they had been working for the Ashram and now they were being left in the lurch. You will realize how difficult it was for us to refuse to take charge under these circumstances. But of course, sentimental considerations cannot decide the question. Akbarpur possesses some marked advantages and at the same time a very great disadvantage. As a weaving centre it is famous and even now some of the finest weaving in India is done at Tanda in the neighbourhood. Unhappily this fine weaving—called *jamdani* work—is done with foreign yarn. On the other hand, there is very little spinning done near Akbarpur and if the centre is to be worked it will be necessary to bring yarn from elsewhere. The Gandhi Ashram, I believe, used to get their yarn chiefly from across the border in Bihar, also from Muzaffarnagar. For us it will be easier to get it from the Northern Districts of the U.P.—Moradabad, Bijnor, etc. The cost of sending the yarn is not great.

If khadi became as current as ghee or grain, there could never have been a thought of withdrawing from any centre. If we had funds and workers we would have representatives not only in 1,600 villages but in 7,00,000 villages. This is no impracticable ambition, when we remember the fact that there are at least two representatives of the alien Government in each of these villages. If anyone before the British advent had suggested any such thing, he would have been laughed out of court. But reflection should show that the restoration of the wheel in every one of the villages is not half as laughable as the hope of imperial Britain being represented in the republican villages of India would have been in the 17th century. What the women near Akbarpur are reported to have said demonstrates what a felt want the charkha fills or can fill in every village of this ancient land. It is no credit to our patriotism that the able weavers of Akbarpur have to fall back upon foreign yarn for their far-famed *jamdani* which it was their pride nearly half a century ago to weave out of yarn spun by the sacred hands of their own sisters living next door to them. It won't be long before the spinners in our villages are able to spin as fine and as strong yarn as any foreign yarn now infesting our market.

Can It Be True?

The president, Arya Samaj, New Delhi, writes:[1]

> The Baghat State is situated in the Simla Hills and its ruler is an enlightened Hindu chief. . . . The population of the State is about ten thousand and mainly consists of Rajputs, Kanets and Brahmins. The other tribes are Kolis, Chamars, etc., who are regarded as menials. Although the Kolis chiefly live on agriculture yet the social disabilities to which they are subject are numerous. . . . Moved by the inhuman treatment which these people suffer at the hands of their Hindu brethren, the Arya Samaj, Simla, brought them into their fold with a view to raise their status in life and invested them with the sacred thread, inasmuch as by occupation they are Vaisyas. . . . This seems to have given umbrage to the caste Hindus who challenged the right of their being invested with the sacred thread. A summary trial was consequently held on the 6th January 1928 by the Chief of the State himself and on the subsequent day on the plea of antiquity and customs, the poor Kolis who were ten in number were sentenced to undergo six months' imprisonment in addition to a fine of Rs. 200 each. No opportunity was given to these unfortunate persons to defend themselves, nor was permission

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

given to the Pandit of the Arya Samaj who happened to be present on the occasion to explain the point of view of the Arya Samaj in this matter. It is now reported that they are being coerced in the jail to take off their sacred thread.

The information contained in the foregoing seems to me to be unbelievable. The Kolis can in no way be considered to be untouchables or to be of the suppressed or the depressed classes. If they are their own farmers, according to the definition of the different varnas, they are born Vaisyas and have every right to wear the sacred thread. But assuming that they have no right in religion, I was totally unprepared for the news that the wearing of the sacred thread would be considered a crime punishable in law in any State. Equally unthinkable it is that the unfortunate men who thought that they had passed through some desirable or meritorious religious ceremony were denied even the right of defending themselves and producing their witnesses. And, if the statements about the punishment and farcical trial are true, I should not at all wonder if the sacred thread had been forcibly taken off their persons. I would invite the president of the Arya Samaj to send further details, if any, in corroboration of the charges brought by him against the Baghat State and I would invite the State authorities if they wish to send me their version of the incident which I shall gladly publish.

Young India, 22-3-1928

156. FOREIGN CLOTH BOYCOTT—SOME QUESTIONS

A friend intimately connected with mills and desirous of having our mills contributing their full quota to the foreign cloth boycott movement asks:

> 1. On what basis do you want prices standardized? For remember all mills are not alike. Some are bad, some are good; some use more sizing than others, some have more reserve than others; Bombay mills make less profits than upcountry ones. These differences are illustrative of many others that might be stated.

The one general answer that may be given is "where there's a will there's a way". The mills will contribute their quota only when they get rid of inertia, think "furiously", and that too in terms of the nation, not merely the pockets of share-holders, directors or agents. But by way of making my position in this matter clearer I may say that all the mills who will join the boycott

movement will have to pool all the differences and arrive at a standard price which would at least mean a large slice off from the present profits of at least some mills. If their patriotism is sound and progressive the flourishing ones will cover the losing ones, avoidable differences will be avoided. In the scheme I have in view the mills need never lose in the aggregate and they must not profit at the expense of the buyer.

> 2. Only some mills will undertake not to manufacture khadi. But what about those that only spin low counts? What is your test of khadi?

This is a matter of *common* honesty and arrangement between khadi organizations and mills. At present I am sorry to have to say that even some good mills are not ashamed to label their cloth 'khadi' simply in order to take an illegitimate advantage of the growing khadi atmosphere in the mofussil. If a workable arrangement is come to, I expect that there will be a line of demarcation for the time being between the cloth to be manufactured by khadi centres and mills. The manufacture of cloth will be controlled as it often is in times of war. What in a war based on violence we do by compulsion, in this war based on non-violence we shall do by choice. Our ability voluntarily, i.e., merely under pressure of public opinion, to arrange boycotts, etc., will be the outward but indispensable test of our non-violence if we have any in us.

> 3. How will profits be regulated? You know as well as I do that prices of cotton fluctuate with irritating irregularity.

This assumes our inability to control the cotton market. Surely if the largest manufacturers of the country combine in the patriotic effort, they will control the cotton market. America rules our cotton prices because we stupidly, thoughtlessly, and selfishly send out our cotton. But boycott means that we shall control the movement of cotton, as we shall control many other things, if we are to achieve complete boycott, as we must if we have developed the true national spirit and have confidence in ourselves and the nation.

> 4. If you lay much stress upon honesty, perseverance, mutual trust, etc., you are doomed.

As I have no bayonet at my command and would not have it even if I could command it, I must press for the qualities which the friend fears are at a discount. I do not share his fear—what is more I have patience enough to wait for the development of

those qualities if they are not available in sufficient measure today. For this nation will never come to her own unless we exhibit them as a nation. I know too that we shall take much longer to discipline ourselves for violence, fraud and the like than we shall for truth and non-violence and all that they imply.

The friend then draws my attention to the following omissions in my previous article:[1]

(a) The mills that join the scheme may not use foreign yarn or foreign artificial silk as many now do.

(b) They may not insure with foreign companies.

(c) They may not import foreign cloth and label it 'swadeshi'.

I had assumed that (a) and (c) were a foregone conclusion. I should not care to insist on (b) if the insistence would hamper the proposed joint venture. Much as I should like indigenous insurance enterprise, I am convinced that it is the foreign cloth that blocks the way as nothing else does. If we can put this Himalayan obstacle out of the way, we shall easily cope with hillocks.

Young India, 22-3-1928

157. DIFFERENCE STATED

I gladly publish the foregoing.[2] It was made clear at those meetings of International Fellowship[3] that I had meant the principal religions of the world and I had maintained that all were true more or less and that all were necessarily imperfect. Here therefore there is agreement. But Mr. Ireland's letter leaves on the mind the impression that there is a fundamental difference between him and me regarding conversion, no matter by what name it is called. Let me extend the analogy of fragrance, faulty as all analogies are in their very nature. The rose imparts its fragrance not in many ways but only one. Those who have not the sense of smell will miss it. You cannot feel the fragrance through the tongue or the ear or the skin. So may you not receive spirituality except through the spiritual sense. Hence have all religions recognized the necessity of that sense being

[1] *Vide* "What Can Our Mills Do?", 15-3-1928.

[2] The letter from W. F. Ireland of Cambridge Mission is not reproduced here.

[3] *Vide* "Discussion on Fellowship", Before 15-1-1928.

awakened. It is a second birth. A man with intense spirituality may without speech or a gesture touch the hearts of millions who have never seen him and whom he has never seen. The most eloquent preacher if he has not spirituality in him will fail to touch the hearts of his audience. Therefore I venture to think that most of the effort of modern missions is not only useless but more often than not harmful. At the root of missionary effort is also the assumption that one's own belief is true not only for oneself but for all the world; whereas the truth is that God reaches us[1] through millions of ways not understood by us. In missionary effort therefore there is lack of real humility that instinctively recognizes human limitations and the limitless power of God. I have no feeling that from a spiritual standpoint I am necessarily superior to the so-called savage. And spiritual superiority is a dangerous thing to feel. It is not[2] like many other things which we can perceive, analyse and prove through our senses. If it is there, I cannot be deprived of it by any power on earth, and it will have its effect in its own due time. But if in matters of medicine and other natural sciences, I feel my superiority over others, a thing of which I may be legitimately conscious, and if I have love for my fellow beings, I would naturally share my knowledge with them. But things of the spirit I leave to God and thus keep the bond between fellow beings and myself pure, correct and within limits. But I must not carry this argument any further.

My first feeling was not to publish Mr. Ireland's letter but to send a brief reply to him privately. But my regard for him has prompted me to comply with his wish without any ado knowing full well that this is not a matter which admits of any conclusive argument especially from my side and in view of the position herein described by me.

Young India, 22-3-1928

[1] & [2] *Vide* "Two Corrections", 29-3-1928.

158. *FIJI FOR THE FIJIANS*[1]

Though what Deenabandhu says is the truth and nothing but the truth, I fear that if the British Imperialist rulers offer the Indian emigrants in any part of the world sufficient inducement, they will succumb and imagine that they are "equal partners", not knowing that they are but "jackals". But the hope lies in Imperialists never offering enough inducement and the native wit of the Indian emigrants seeing through the thin veil of Imperial *maya*.

Young India, 22-3-1928

159. *LETTER TO P. K. MATHEW*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry that I was unable to reply to your letter till now. I would like you to read the back numbers of *Young India* to understand that spinning-wheels are not good for schools. *Taklis* should be introduced in schools. Experience has shown that they give much better results in every way than the spinning-wheel for the reasons stated in the pages of *Young India*[2] and you need no special buildings and no expenditure worth the name.

Yours sincerely,

P. K. MATHEW, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
CHRISTAVA MAHILALAYAM
ALWAYE
(TRAVANCORE)

From a microfilm: S. N. 13124

[1] C. F. Andrews's article bearing this title, is not reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXII, p. 28.

160. MARRIAGE OF THE OLD AND CHILD-MARRIAGE

A gentleman from Surat writes to say:[1]

His criticism of child-marriages is largely correct. If the writer goes through the articles in the previous issues of *Navajivan*, he will see that they have often severely criticized child-marriages. And I also know that these articles have averted some child-marriages. However, there is still room for a great deal of reform. Society is not as much averse to child-marriage as it is to marriage with old men. In my opinion both these are equally objectionable. Hence, there is no difference of opinion between this correspondent and myself with regard to condemnation of child-marriage. If I had the authority or if my pen had enough power, I would use it to prevent every child-marriage. Parents who marry their children at a tender age become their enemies and are responsible for making them dependent and weak.

However, the correspondent's intention appears to be to uphold marriages of old men while discrediting child-marriages. The advantages of marrying an old man as stated by the correspondent seem to be ludicrous and also to ignore completely the poor girl or if there is any consideration for her it is only for her financial condition. The writer appears to forget that consent of the girls who are married off to old men is never secured; perhaps, in his opinion, it is needless to think of it. The correspondent seems to be wholly oblivious of the fact that marriage is a religious rite and, worse still, he fails to remember that marriage with an old man amounts to a doubly culpable child-marriage, as in all such cases not only is the bride a child but the old man who despite age contemplates marriage can only be deemed a child, or something worse. Although the husband may be living it is a kind of widowhood for the girl. Society is least likely to be harmed if old men who cannot control their passions or who for some other reason wish to marry, do so with old or mature women prepared to enter into such relationship with them.

Congratulations

The result of the above-mentioned article has been that a poor girl has been spared as the elderly gentleman who was going to marry her realized his mistake on reading the article and gave up the idea of another marriage. I congratulate this gentleman on this

[1] The letter is not translated here.

welcome result. Let us hope that whenever in the future he is moved by passion he will restrain himself, thinking of the girl's good and of society, and even the country and also remembering God. This case should infuse greater enthusiasm in social workers. We find from this as well as other instances that have since occurred that social and other injustices can be prevented if timely steps —restrained yet firm—are taken against them.

Will Another Cow Be Saved?

Some young girls have been rescued from being sold off to old men. Bearing this in mind a gentleman from Ranpur writes to say:[1]

On the strength of this letter, I do request this Modh Vanik gentleman of Bhavnagar not to go through this marriage. At the age of 55, he should shrink from the thought of marrying a girl young enough to be his grand-daughter. I hope leaders of the Modh community of Bhavnagar will take all steps needed to prevent this marriage. In fact in such cases wherever people in general are alert, not only the leaders of small castes, but the entire public and even the State itself, should act as protectors of the young girls and it is their dharma to rescue girls who are being sold in this manner. Young men are their guardians and if they don the armour of virtue, humility and courage and do their duty they will be able to rescue all the poor young girls and there is no doubt they can.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 25-3-1928

161. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

Satyagraha Ashram,
Sabarmati,
March 26, 1928

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your chatty letter. I am glad you were able to walk all that distance without any discomfort. I am getting well. I note what you say about the enema. The doctors who guided me in Bangalore insisted upon permanganate, but the solution is very weak. It is just rose colour that is required.

[1] The letter is not translated here.

How is Ganesan getting on with your book? When is it likely to be ready?

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13128

162. LETTER TO K. S. ACHARYA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Simplicity is a matter of heart. But lest we deceive ourselves, the ideal is not to possess anything which the poorest on earth do not.

You cannot force your wife to abandon ornaments against her will, but you must seek to conquer her through selfless love devoid of animal passion and through your own daily-increasing self-denial.

Without denying your father and being always ready to serve him, you can live separately from him and bring up an untouchable boy in the manner you suggest.

I am afraid it will not be possible for me to take your sister because she would not know Hindustani. You should give her there all the training that she needs.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. ACHARYA
ASSTT. MASTER
GOVT. HIGH SCHOOL
DEVANGERE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13127

163. LETTER TO N. RAMA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 26, 1928

N. RAMA RAO, ESQ.
SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT
DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT
SECRETARIAT, BANGALORE

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter enclosing a copy of Sjt. Pujari's report on the Badnaval Spinning Centre. This work was noticed in the pages of *Young India*.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13130

164. LETTER TO H. M. PEREIRA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 26, 1928

MY DEAR PEREIRA

The address is as printed above. There is no code address. Gandhi, Sabarmati, finds me.

Yours sincerely,

H. M. PEREIRA, ESQ.
225 OAK STREET
BELLORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14271

[1] This was in C. Rajagopalachari's article "A State Khadi Centre", *Young India*, 8-3-1928.

165. LETTER TO DR. P. S. KITCHLEW

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your warm invitation. But if only for health reasons I must not attend the Conference. It would delight my heart if your prophecy comes true and there is a heart union established between Hindus and Mussalmans and Sikhs of the Punjab. I know that then Hindu-Muslim unity is assured and my faith in the power of that unity is such that I would say swaraj is assured.

Anyway I hope that the Conference will not forget or neglect khadi.

Yours sincerely,

DR. P. S. KITCHLEW
CHAIRMAN
RECEPTION COMMITTEE
THE 13TH PUNJAB PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
AMRITSAR

From a photostat: S.N. 13129

166. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 26, 1928

I have your letter. Before I decide anything I await Romain Rolland's letter. The argument given in your letter to Mahadev I had anticipated. But this is not a love letter. This is written to send you the enclosed letter from Dr. M. E. Naidoo. Please deal with it yourself and at once. I have told him that you would reply to it.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1
SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 13131

167. LETTER TO PRATAP S. PUNDIT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 26, 1928

MY DEAR PRATAP,

I haven't got you to build me a tannery, but all the same I have now got something which passes as a tannery because I have got a crank like myself who knows much about the business to do the work. I would like you when you come to Ahmedabad to look at it. But I would like you to send me some literature on tanning which a layman may understand and do something with, or tell me where I can get it.

Yours sincerely,

PRATAP S. PUNDIT

From a photostat: S.N. 15363

168. LETTER TO M. PIGGOTT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You say Rs. 3,000 is so little to me, and they are much to the widow and her boy. You little know that I am poorer than the widow. For I do not possess any property over which I can go to any court of law much less to Privy Council. I have no money of my own. I am a humble trustee holding some funds for well-defined trusts. I may not deviate the funds without exposing myself to the charge of breach of trust. You should approach a monied man.

Yours sincerely,

M. PIGGOTT, ESQ.
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: S.N. 13132

169. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 27, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

The expected letter being registered was received only today. It is a long letter. He[1] would like me to go to Europe, but he himself is not likely to be in his place before June. I expect a reply to another letter from him. I am in no hurrry to go. I would therefore like to await further news from him. Somehow or other I can't put my heart into this proposed visit. My heart is in the boycott. If we cannot negotiate the boycott, I am supremely content to go on with the khadi programme. I would like you to visualize the marvellous effect that the khadi movement has produced. If the mill-owners had been honest, we should have made enormous strides.

I have now got the figures for khadi production by the mills. Here they are for three years.

The figures are for nine months ending December.[2]

	1925	1926	1927
Lb.	22,887,970	27,236,337	33,977,851
Yards	65,048,487	74,313,280	94,380,368

You will observe how rapidly the mills have been progressing towards khadi. 94.3 million yards in one year! It means all that money taken away from the mouths of the paupers. It shows also the potentiality of the khadi movement.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13133

[1] Romain Rolland

[2] *Vide* also "A Mill-owner on Boycott", 5-4-1928.

170. SPEECH AT SWEEPERS' MEETING, AHMEDABAD[1]

March 27, 1928

After having listened to these *bhajans* I feel that there is no difference between you and me. At present my health is such that I cannot attend any function and the doctors too have forbidden me to attend meetings. Because I am here today, do not think that I am fit. After a long interval and for the first time since I returned to Ahmedabad, I am attending a meeting and that too because Shri Banker and others insisted that I should give some advice to the Bhangis of the city.

Truly speaking, you are the high-caste Hindus. Your sacrifice is very great. The so-called caste Hindus are more responsible for your blemishes than you are. You come to have these because they forsook you. I wish you would get rid of these vices now. I can clean latrines better than you do, but you prevent me from doing it; this is a grave mistake. Why should you prevent others from doing it?

The caste Hindus regard your work as low and of little value but my honest opinion is that it is the best. As long as one cannot do that work well, one cannot be said to have served well. What is the condition of the streets and lanes of Ahmedabad? I say this because I clean everything myself. You should feel that by doing this work, you render the greatest and the most important service to the city. Why do you object if others participate in such service?

If I had my say I would get the lanes and latrines of Ahmedabad cleaned by High School boys and make the city so beautiful that I could proudly invite everyone to visit it. The key to this lies in your hands. Regard this as an act of service and perform it with diligence because the city's health depends mainly on it. If you realize this you can remove many of the difficulties faced by Vallabhbhai[2], and you will receive applause from the citizens and at the same time you will put your betters to shame.

I have no faith in your claim that the evil of drinking has decreased. I think out of every sixteen persons two abstain from

[1] The meeting was held at 7.30 p.m. at Maganbhaini Vadi. Among those present were Kasturba Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel and Anasuyabehn Sarabhai. *Bhajans* were sung at the commencement of the proceedings.

[2] Vallabhbhai Patel was at the time President of Ahmedabad Municipality.

drinking and fourteen indulge in it. I do not believe that anyone runs into debt for food; they do so only for indulging in pleasures. You must get rid of all these addictions.

You should teach your children not to eat left-overs. You too should take a vow to the same effect. You should accept only that which can be accepted without humiliation. In this way you will be able to train your children well. It does not matter if you are not educated, but you must learn how to count so that no one can deceive you. You must also cultivate habits of personal cleanliness. From the leaders of society you have only to learn self-purification. For that you must give up all your addictions. If, in spite of the khadi cap that you wear, you have addictions, you will disgrace the cap. I will also get you good help from the Municipality and from the rich men of Ahmedabad when you do something on your own.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 1-4-1928

171. LETTER TO T. K. MADHAVAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 28, 1928

MY DEAR MADHAVAN,

I have your letter. You have given me a doleful picture of the state of things there. My advice just now is for you quietly to cultivate public opinion there. From what you write it appears to me that the Government is not unsympathetic but it is timid and too sensitive to orthodox opinion. You should tell me also whether you are ready to offer satyagraha at Suchindram or Thiruvarppu.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. K. MADHAVAN
S. N. D. P. YOGAM
VAIKOM
(TRAVANCORE STATE)

From a microfilm: S.N. 12893-a

172. LETTER TO M. DEWANDAS NARAINDAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. I shall need much more information than you have given in your letter before I can place your name before the Managing Board. You must state your age, whether your parents are alive, what is your future aim. In no case can you be admitted until you have tested yourself in Karachi for at least 6 months

(a) by first spinning for at least one hour daily from slivers carded by yourself;
(b) by learning, if you do not know it, Hindi so as to be able to speak and write correctly;.
(c) by wearing khaddar to the exclusion of all other cloth;
(d) by securing the free permission of your parents.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. DEWANDAS NARAINDAS
STU. STD. VII
NEW HIGH SCHOOL
KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13136

173. LETTER TO RAMI GANDHI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
March 28, 1928

CHI. RAMI,

I have your postcard. You must always write in as beautiful a hand as you have written this time. Next time you write, let me know your daily time-table of work. Write to me how you find the climate there. There is a talk of my going to Europe, but nothing is fixed yet. Even if I go, it will take some time. Do you get any time there to read? Chi. Radha has gone to Bihar as a

tutor to a Bihari girl, and Durga has gone with her in order to help her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9709

174. LETTER TO H. N. VENN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your welcome letter. Mr. Andrews has forgotten to tell me about your intention to see me at the Ashram. I shall be delighted to see you on the 8th April. If it is the same thing to you please make it 4 p.m. instead of 5. But I shall be ready for you at 5 o'clock also.

Yours sincerely,

H. N. VENN, ESQ.
MAIDEN'S HOTEL
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11970

175. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 28, 1928

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have your letter about the proposed European visit. I have myself no heart in it, nor have I any confidence in myself about making it successful; but an interview with Rolland still remains an attraction. All the reputation I enjoy in the West is borrowed from him and I feel that if I meet him face to face, there may be disillusionment on many points. It may be that we should come closer than we ever were. I do attach considerable importance to our knowing each other much better than we do.

I quite agree with you that there is nothing to gain from the health point of view. I might possibly suffer, and health is no consideration whatsoever in the proposed trip. From that point of

view any hill station in India would be infinitely superior for me.

I feel also with you that the withdrawal of my presence is likely to unsettle things a bit especially in Bardoli. Foreign cloth boycott can certainly make no headway during my absence. But now that you are all gathering together at Calcutta, I would like you to discuss the proposed visit at the Council meeting. I am most anxious that I should not become exclusive and should be humble enough to arrive at truth no matter from what source it comes.

I am sorry about the defalcations, but I shall accept your warning not to disturb myself or discuss them.

I understand what you say about Ramachandran. I want you to write him a warm letter and go out of your way to draw him towards you. He is a kind of 'Chetty' also, for he did wonderfully well in the way of khadi at Jamia.

I must not forget one thing, though, about your reference to the defalcations. If the defaulter gives you Rs. 500 and tenders an apology for publication, you should be entirely satisfied. But this is an unconsidered opinion of a layman.

What do you say to my exploit in conducting an exclusively milk experiment? I do not want to be told you swooned at my saying it is a literally milk-and-water experiment.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13123

176. LETTER TO DR. ARULMANI PICHAMUTHU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Your insured little parcel preceded your letter and I was wondering from whom it was. Mahadev guessed it correctly. I congratulate you on the manner of your disposal of the precious jewels. I hope to take notice of the gift in some shape or form without disclosing name in *Young India*.[1]

Yours sincerely,

DR. ARULMANI PICHAMUTHU
PANTHADI NO. 1
MADURA

From a photostat: S.N. 13134

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 5-4-1928, sub-title, "Women and Jewels",

177. LETTER TO SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

When I had the pleasure of being shown over your farm on the banks of the Jumna, I remember having seen a contrivance whereby you heated your water by the sun heat. Will you please tell me whether it was merely the tank put on your building and exposed to the full sun or whether you concentrated by some mechanical contrivance the rays of the sun on to the tank?

Yours sincerely,

SAM HIGGINBOTTOM, ESQ.
AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13137

178. 'THE TRIUMPH OF RACE HATRED'[1]

I am sure that the Amsterdam International, if it was placed in the same condition as the White Trades Union of Johannesburg, would not behave otherwise than the latter; nor would it have acted otherwise than Mr. Ramsay MacDonald or Mr. Lansbury if its members had found themselves in their position.

Young India, 29-3-1928

[1] C. F. Andrews's article, on which Gandhiji comments, is not reproduced here. He had written that the International Labour Movement in Europe in its bulletin entitled "The Triumph of Race Hatred" had condemned the South African Trades Union Congress of white workers for its refusal to affiliate the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.W.U.) of coloured workers which was already affiliated to the Amsterdam International, that is, International Federation of Trades Unions. Andrews had also regretted the action of Ramsay MacDonald and the Labour Parliamentary party in England in acquiescing in the appointment of the Simon Commission on a racial basis.

179. THE DOCTRINE OF FRIGHTFULNESS

In answer to a question put by a member of the late Hunter Committee, General Dyer admitted that Jallianwala was designed to create frightfulness. In making the admission the late General enunciated no new doctrine. Indeed "the ablest Civil Service in the world" has laid the foundation of its greatness on frightfulnesses.

In pursuance of this well-known policy, according to the information received at the time of going to press it appears that summary steps are now to be taken against the farmers of Bardoli in order to compel submission. For eight preliminary notices of forfeiture have been served upon certain satyagrahis of Bardoli. The names of these seem to have been carefully chosen, for all of them happen to be banias of note. The choice has been so made presumably because banias who have the reputation of being weak and timid are expected to yield under notices of forfeiture. What can be more natural, officialdom would argue, than that banias weakening, the others must follow suit. Satyagrahis need not be surprised at this first show of frightfulness. They have been repeatedly told to expect forfeitures and worse. Let them now show their strength if they have it in them.

Young India, 29-3-1928

180. THE NATIONAL WEEK

The national week comes upon us with seasonlike regularity and has found us more or less wanting since after 1922. The 6th April to 13th April should be regarded as days of privilege, introspection, intense national activity and self-purification. These precious seven days should be days of stock-taking and heart-searching. The morning of 6th April 1919 found an India awakened to a sense of her dignity. Hindus, Mussalmans and others composing the nation felt themselves united like blood-brothers as they are in reality, if they would but recognize themselves as sons of the soil.

6th of April 1919 found an India endowed with a true spirit of swadeshi which culminated in khadi and which is now feeding according to the latest figures over 90,000 poor spinners.

The spirit thus awakened continued to advance during 1920 and 1921 and we seemed to be within an ace of statutory swaraj.

But that swaraj did not come and there was a set-back. Apparently since then there has been only an ebb. Hindus and Mussalmans are flying at each other's throats.

Instead of swadeshi we have the cry for boycott of British goods pending settlement as if support of Japanese goods including Japan's cheap calico can ever be a substitute for swadeshi, i.e., khadi, exclusive of all foreign cloth. After much research, reasoning and experience, we seemed in 1920-21 to have come to the conclusion that the only practical, effective and necessary swadeshi was khadi, not pending any settlement but for all time or such time as we could discover a better and more paying occupation for the starving millions. I have seen no new argument in support of boycott of British goods only as distinguished from foreign goods. No new situation has arisen to warrant the belief that boycott of British goods is a practical proposition and that the use of foreign cloth other than British is not almost equally detrimental to the best interest of India.

Would that those who are supporting the cry of boycott of British goods will seriously think over their programme, and, if necessary, revise their plan and join the khadi movement with the whole-hearted conviction that it and it alone can bring about complete boycott, not merely of British cloth but of all foreign cloth.

But whether they do so or not, I am sure they do not make of support of foreign cloth other than British cloth a matter of principle. And if I am right in my supposition, let them support the sales of khadi during the National Week. If they will but study the progress of the khadi movement during the past seven years that it has been going on, they will discover that the charkha has more potency than they have ever dreamt of. It is potent enough, if it receives the whole-hearted and active support of politically-minded India, to bring about boycott of foreign cloth even without the assistance of our mills. With the active and organized support of the latter, boycott of foreign cloth becomes a much easier proposition. Indeed the mill-owners hold the trump card if only they would play it for the sake of the nation. They have at their disposal a ready-made extensive organization, which, if they devote it to the service of the nation, can simplify the campaign of boycott and arm the nation with the power it so much needs.

And why will not Hindus and Mussalmans recall those precious seven days and shed all fear, mutual distrust and weakness?

Let me not forget the so-called untouchables, the classes that we Hindus have been guilty of suppressing. Shall we not have

the vision to see that in suppressing a sixth (or whatever the number) of ourselves, we have depressed ourselves? No man takes another down a pit without descending into it himself and sinning in the bargain. It is not the suppressed that sin. It is the suppressor who has to answer for his crime against those whom he suppresses.

Young India, 29-3-1928

181. NOTES

SPECIAL FOR NATIONAL WEEK

Sjt. Vithaldas Jerajani (Khadi Bhandar, Princess Street, Bombay) writes:[1]

I do hope that there will be an adequate response to Sjt. Jerajani's legitimate wish and hope. Bombay has always been sensitive to national moods. Bombay laid the foundation of the national khadi movement by opening the first khadi bhandar. The figures given in the letter are instructive. The great drop in 1925 is to be accounted for by the fact that there was another large khadi store opened in Kalbadevi Road. Nevertheless the figures for the other years are an eloquent proof of the statement that Bombay is the proper barometer for the politically-minded India. The figures for 1927 show a decided improvement upon 1926. Will Bombay rise to those of 1922? Not that even such a rise will be anything commensurate with what is required for the boycott we want and can have if we would but show the necessary measure of sacrifice and determination.

Another notice I have is from the Shuddha Khadi Bhandar, Richey Road, Ahmedabad. That Bhandar also proposes during the National Week to give discount from one anna to four annas in the rupee according to the variety required.

I hope that all khadi organizations whether owned by the Association or certified will put forth special efforts to bring khadi to the notice of the public and that the public will make a liberal response.

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had given the figures of sale of khadi during the National Weeks from 1922 to 1927. He had hoped that in view of greater variety, improvement in the quality of khadi and a greater swadeshi spirit there would be greater response in the coming National Week. He had also announced a discount of one anna per rupee on khadi purchased from April 1 to 15. *Vide* also "The National Week", 1-4-1928.

KHADI TOUR IN BENGAL

It is perhaps necessary to emphasize in Bengal that the khadi tour organized by Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta is also the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial tour. Sheth Jamnalalji, Sjt. Rajagopalachari, Sjt. Manilal Kothari and Sjt. Shankerlal Banker are about to tour in Bengal as from the 5th of next month in the interest of khadi, which an all-India committee decided on the death of Deshbandhu should be the centre and the circumference of an all-India memorial for the late Chittaranjan Das, the uncrowned king of Bengal. There is a wave of swadeshi passing over Bengal at present. But I suspect that the true meaning of swadeshi is missed in the forest of words that surround that simple but life-giving word. Let us adhere to its root-meaning and we shall discover nothing but khadi in it. Swadeshi is "of one's own country". Among things of the villagers' daily use, cloth is the only thing that is "not of one's own country". That which they can easily make themselves is also cloth. Hence the swadeshi that they can realize and without which they must starve is khadi and nothing else. Hence is khadi the only real swadeshi for every patriot. I hope therefore that Sheth Jamnalalji and his companions will be whole-heartedly assisted by Bengal wherever they go. Every yard of khadi bought and every donation given to the Memorial is so much help to the boycott movement and to the poorest in the land.

BOYCOTT AND STUDENTS

The Principal of a college writes:[1]

> The promoters of the boycott movement are dragging the students into their movement. . . . When the students leave their schools and colleges and join any demonstration, they mingle with the rowdies of the place and have to be responsible for all the outrages of the badmashes and often receive the first blows from the policeman's batons. They, besides, incur the displeasure of the school and college authorities whose punishment they have to submit to; they further disobey their guardians who might refuse to finance them further, which spells their ruin. I can understand youth movements which aim at doing such constructive work as teaching the ignorant peasants, spreading knowledge of sanitation, etc., during holidays; but to see them turn against their own parents and teachers and walk along streets in questionable company and help the breaking of law and order is a sorry spectacle. May I request you to advise the politicians not

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

to draw the students from their legitimate work to make their demonstration *more effective*? . . .

The correspondent has written in the hope of my condemning the participation by the student world in active political work. But I am sorry to have to disappoint him. He should have known that in 1920-21 I had not an inconsiderable share in drawing students out of their schools and colleges and inducing them to undertake political duty carrying with it the risk of imprisonment. I think it is their clear duty to take leading part in the political movement of their country. They are doing so all the world over. In India where political consciousness has till recently been unfortunately confined in a large measure to the English-educated class, their duty is, indeed, greater. In China and Egypt it was the students who have made the national movement possible. They cannot do less in India.

What the Principal might have urged was the necessity of students observing the rules of non-violence and acquiring control over the rowdies, instead of being controlled by them.

MACAULAY'S DREAMS

A friend sends me the following quotation from Macaulay's *Life and Letters*:[1]

On the 7th March 1835 Lord William Bentinck decided that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India;" two of the orientalists retired from the Committee of Public Instruction; . . . and Macaulay entered upon the functions of President. . . .

"Our English schools," said Lord Macaulay, "are flourishing wonderfully. . . . The effect of this education on the Hindoos is prodigious. No Hindoo who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. . . . It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence. . . ."

I do not know whether Macaulay's dream that English-educated India would abandon its religious beliefs has been realized. But we know too that he had another dream, namely, to supply through English-educated India clerks and the like for the English rulers. The dream has certainly been realized beyond all expectations.

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

Peace amidst Strife

Before now I have shared with the reader some of the beautiful things that a friend sends me from time to time for my Monday silence. I am tempted to share with him the following further instalment which has been lying with me in my jacket for a long time. All but the last two are extracts from Buddhistic writings. The last but one is from Emerson and the last of all is a Hindu proverb.

> Like a beautiful flower full of colour, without scent, the fine words of him who does not act accordingly are fruitless.
>
> A mind unshaken by life's vicissitudes, unstirred by grief or passion, is the greatest of all blessings.
>
> There never was, there never will be, a man who is always praised, or a man who is always blamed.
>
> As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, so wise men falter not amidst blame or praise.
>
> Let us live happily, then, not hating those who hate us.
> Let us live free from hatred among men who hate.
> Let us live happily, then, free from ailments among the ailing.
> Let us dwell free from afflictions among men who are sick at heart.
> Let us live happily, then, free from care among the busy.
> Let us dwell free from yearning among men who are anxious.
> Let us live happily, then, though we call nothing our own.
> We shall become like the bright Gods, who feed on happiness.
> The greatest prayer is patience.
> Never in this world does hatred cease by hatred.
> Hatred ceases by love : this is always its nature.
> Reverence and lowliness,
> Contentment and gratitude,
> The hearing of the Lord at due season.
> This is the greatest blessing.
>
> As a mother, even at the risk of her own life, protects her son, her only son: so let a man cultivate goodwill without measure among all beings.
>
> Let him cultivate goodwill without measure toward the whole world, above, below, unstinted, unmixed with any feeling of differing or opposing interests. Let a man remain steadfastly in that state of mind all the while he is awake, whether he be standing, walking, sitting or lying down. This state of heart is the best in the world.
>
> By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm.

As the bee—injuring not
The flower, its colour, or scent—
Flies away, taking the nectar :
So let the wise man dwell
Upon the truth.
Ye taught my lips a single speech
And a thousand silences.

Even Buddha was once a cart-horse, and carried the loads of others.

Young India, 29-3-1928

182. ON FASTING

The reader is familiar with the letters of a Polish professor from which I have published extracts from time to time in these columns.[1] In one of his letters referring to my fasts he writes:[2]

I publish this as being of use to the reader who is interested in such researches. The physical and moral value of fasting is being more and more recognized day by day. A vast number of diseases can be more surely treated by judicious fasting than by all sorts of nostrums including the dreadful injections—dreadful not because of the pain they cause but because of the injurious byproducts which often result from their use. More mischief than we are aware of is done by the drug treatment. But not many cases of harm done by fasting can be cited. Increased vitality is almost the universal experience of those that have fasted. For real rest for body and mind is possible only during fasting. Suspension of daily work is hardly rest without the rest that the overtaxed and overworked digestive apparatus needs in a multitude of cases. The moral effect of fasting, while it is considerable, is not so easily demonstrable.[3] For moral results there has to be perfect co-operation from the mind. And there is danger of self-deception. I know of many instances in which fasting undertaken for moral results has been overdone. To a limited extent it is a most

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 245-7 and Vol. XXXIV, pp. 314-6.

[2] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had narrated his experiments in fasting and said that it not only increased bodily activity but also spiritual enlightenment.

[3] The correspondent had written: "Whenever I have a moral or intellectual difficulty, I fast. . . . Once I had a difficulty with a printer who delayed my work in order to print other more profitable things. By fasting I succeeded in changing his mind. . . ."

valuable agent if the person fasting knows what he is doing. There was considerable force in the warning given by the Prophet against his disciples copying his fasting over and above the semi-fasts of Ramzan. "My Maker sends me food enough when I fast, not so to you," said the Prophet. Of what use is a spiritual fast when the spirit hankers more after food the longer the body is starved?

Young India, 29-3-1928

183. TWO CORRECTIONS

Two lamentable errors have crept into the footnote to Mr. Ireland's letter printed at page 93 in *Young India*[1] of the 22nd instant. About the middle of the column one reads: "God reaches earth through millions of ways not understood by us." The stenographer heard "earth" when "us" was spoken. The sixth line after this one reads: "It is like many other things which we can perceive", etc. The context would show that "not" is obviously omitted from the sentence. It should read: "It is not like many other things", etc.

Young India, 29-3-1928

184. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 30, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. You are never without troubles. But they should be treated as chasteners. Dhiren's case is difficult to advise upon.[2] Idealistically he should disobey every order of externment and internment and submit to any punishment that may be given to him. But that is a matter for himself to judge. Before he can disobey the orders I have in mind, he must have the inner

[1] *Vide* "Difference Stated", 22-3-1928.

[2] The addressee had written : ". . . There is trouble about Dhiren also. The Government propose to extern him from Bengal. I do not think that catastrophe can be avoided. He can of course refuse to sign the order, but in that case he will be liable to prosecution which might result in 3 years rigorous imprisonment. . . " (S.N. 13126).

conviction that disobeying is a duty and imprisonment for disobeyance not a task but a matter of joy. And such joy is possible only when one considers such imprisonments as conducive to individual as well as national growth. But what actually should be done I cannot really confidently say. You know Dhiren better than I do and after all Dhiren will be largely guided by what you would have him to do. You must also consider to what extent you will be able to bear his imprisonment and sufferings, and then come to a conclusion. Of course Dhiren if he submits to the externment order is due to come to the Ashram and stay as long as he likes. There is always work for young men like him.

Nothing is yet fixed about the proposed visit.

Yours sincerely,

SRIMATI URMILA DEVI
4A NAFAR KUNDU ROAD
KHALIGHAT, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13126

185. LETTER TO SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 30, 1928

TO
THE SECRETARY
A. I. S. A.
AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter No. 2169 dated 28th instant regarding private agencies, it is difficult to give an opinion straightway. I do consider it necessary to acquire greater control over private agencies. Before I can advise, it will be well to obtain concrete suggestions from the Tamilnad Agency.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13139

186. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 30, 1928

MY DEAR SHANTIKUMAR,

You must continue to send me all new additional facts and figures. I enclose herewith the combined balance-sheet sent by you the other day.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13125; also C.W. 4786. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

187. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 30, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. You must not hesitate to write to me about your wants, and any other matter. I shall try to meet you as far as possible, but you might be called upon to face privations. Bickerings at home too may be a national servant's lot.

Thakkar Bapa saw Sir Purushottamdas about your salary and Sir Purushottamdas considers your receiving salary from the Central Committee as the most natural thing and Rs. 150 as quite reasonable. Now I shall have to ask for Rs. 200. I don't anticipate any difficulty.

I am trying to find out whether Jethalal or Parshatlal can be spared. Kalyanji and Naraharibhai it is impossible to spare. Narahari has his own work chalked out for him and Kalyanji must be buried in Bardoli. But I have an able businessman just now free for such work. He is Jaisukhlal Gandhi. He was in charge of Amreli Khadi Karyalaya. It is now being rearranged and Jaisukhlal is being made free. Your letter under reply comes just in time to keep him free. But it is necessary to send him to Amreli for winding up the head office and despatch all the stock here. This is likely to take a fortnight. I have just had a talk with him

as to whether he is prepared to do the thing. He is agreeable provided I let him go to Amreli straightway and wind up the business there. I have sent a wire[1] to you today. If I do not receive your reply at once, you will have to give a fortnight to be counted after receiving your final reply.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. N. R. MALKANI
PEOPLE'S FLOOD RELIEF COMMITTEE
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: G.N. 951

188. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

March 30, 1928

I have replied to your cablegram. Nothing is yet certain. I am not clear in my own mind as to what I should do. I am now in correspondence with M. Romain Rolland. His final reply will help me to come to some decision. If the visit to Europe is decided upon and if I reach in time I would gladly perform the opening ceremony[2]. But so far as I can see I can't possibly reach in time. There seems to be no occasion to leave India before May if at all. I may therefore suggest your making other arrangements.

As for staying with you, of course, I would love to do so if you can harbour me and my companions, because if I do come I shan't be alone.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MURIEL LESTER
KINGSLEY HALL
POWIS ROAD
BOW
LONDON, E. 3

From a photostat: S.N. 14949

[1] This is not available.
[2] Of the Handicraft Room on July 7

189. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Ramanavami [*March 30, 1928*][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. I have not been able to take a decision as yet about going to Europe. I am not keen on it. The desire to meet Romain Rolland is certainly there. But I am awaiting his letter in this connection. A letter has come, but it does not incline me to go. If at all I go, it will be in May and I shall be back in October. I shall try to stay with you in Mussoorie even if it is for only a few days. I want to remain here up to April 13[2].

Please let me have your opinion on what I wrote inviting the co-operation of mills in the boycott of foreign cloth.[3]

Write in detail about your health. Are you now able to eat anything?

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6155. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

190. SPEECH AT ASHRAM ON RAMANAVAMI DAY

March 30, 1928

The Rama of whom we sing is not the Rama of Valmiki, nor even the Rama of Tulsi—although his *Ramayana* is very dear to me and I consider it an incomparable work, I never seem to have enough of it once I start reading it. Today, however, we shall not think of Tulsidas's Rama or the Rama of Girdhar's *Ramayana*, much less the Rama of Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti. There is great beauty in Bhavabhuti's *Uttararamacharita*. However, here is not the Rama whose name we may recite to cross to the other shore or whose name we may repeat in moments of despair. If someone is suffering unbearable pain I tell him to repeat Ramanama. If someone is unable to sleep I tell him too to repeat

[1] From the contents it is clear that the letter was written in 1928.

[2] Last day of the National Week

[3] *Vide* "What Can Our Mills Do?", 15-3-1928.

Ramanama. This Rama is not the son of Dasharatha or the husband of Sita. In fact he is not the embodied Rama. The Rama that dwells in our hearts cannot possibly have a physical form; the heart is no larger than a thumb and the Rama who dwells in some niche there could not have a body, nor could he have been born on the ninth day of the month of *Chaitra* in a certain year. He is birthless. He is the Creator, the Lord of the universe. Hence the Rama whom one wishes to remember, and whom one should remember, is the Rama of one's own imagination, not the Rama of someone else's imagination.

If we keep this in mind, many doubts that trouble us would not arise at all. Many times we wonder how the Rama who slew Vali could be called the Perfect One. I too come across many such questions, and I am amused. What great achievement is there in having slain someone, by fair means or foul, or to have destroyed the ten-headed Ravana, if ever there was one such. In this modern age, even if a Ravana is born, not with twenty but countless hands, a child standing behind a cannon can, by firing a single ball, send all his arms and heads flying. We would not regard such a child superhuman; we would look upon him as a big monster. I believe that we do not wish to acquire the strength of a super-monster. We would not attain peace by worshipping him. We should worship Him, the Inner Ruler, who dwells in the hearts of all, yet transcends all and is the Lord of all. It is He of whom we sing: *Nirbalke bal Rama*[1]. The song also mentions Draupadi's despair. Now, what had Draupadi to do with an embodied Rama? Yet, the poet has sung that Rama saved Draupadi's honour. The Rama mentioned here is the One who is common to all and yet comprehended by none. It is this Rama whom we remember. Between this Rama, the Inner Ruler, and Krishna there is no difference.

We celebrate the festival of Rama's birth so that we may practise some self-restraint, and the children may enjoy innocent pleasures and learn some lesson by reading the *Ramayana*. Man, who is himself embodied, cannot easily conceive God in any other form. His imagination cannot go farther. Therefore he conceives God as being incarnated in human form. Hinduism has boundless tolerance. Hence God has been described as descending in the forms of a fish, a boar and a man-lion. In this way having superimposed a form on God, men conceived Him as having a body and then imagined Him as taking birth. And when we speak of His

[1] 'Rama, strength of the weak', the opening words of a popular song

avatars to protect dharma whenever dharma declines and *adharma* flourishes, it is true only in the manner and to the extent which I have just described; how else could we say that the birthless One took birth? There is no reason to believe that any historical figure was the incarnation of God or God as a historical figure was born in human or any other form. If a person is endowed with all the qualities of God, he may be called an incarnation of God. It was because of their divine qualities that all those great men of the past were regarded by people as either plenary or partial incarnations. And yet, knowing this, different devotees have described the same God in the Rama of Valmiki or Tulsidas and there is no harm in singing those *bhajans*. If we bear in mind what I said earlier, we would not be deluded. If someone wishes to confuse us confronting us with conundrums, we should tell him that we do not worship embodied Rama as conceived by anyone; we worship our own Rama who is flawless and formless. As we cannot reach Him direct, we sing *bhajans* that describe Him as personified, and then try to apprehend Him in His purity.

So long as we are unable to see through the wall of the body, the qualities of truth and non-violence will not become fully manifest in us. When we think of pursuing truth, we must stop mistaking the body for ourselves, for we shall have to die in the pursuit of truth. The same is true of non-violence. The body is the root of ego. One who has attachment to the body cannot free himself of the ego. I cannot become wholly free of violence so long as I have the feeling that this body is mine. One who desires to have a vision of God will have to transcend the body, to despise it, to court death.

It is only when we master these two qualities that we can be saved, that we can practise *brahmacharya* and so on. How can we do without truth if we wish to practise such vows? The face of truth is hidden by a golden lid.[1] Why should we fear to speak the truth or to act truthfully? How can we catch a glimpse of truth so long as we do not remove the glittering lid of untruth? If anyone commits an offence, are we willing to love him instead of getting angry with him? Although we sing that this world is insubstantial, do we know at all what the word implies?

"If you wish to know me," says Rama, "you must flee the world." But the body cannot be wished away. Having trained ourselves to look upon the world as unreal, we may go about our business as a matter of duty all the time and still find Rama. That is the teaching of the *Gita*. This is why I regard the *Gita*

[1] *Ishopanishad*, v. 15

as spiritual dictionary. Tulsidas teaches us the same truth through beautiful poetry.

The key, however, is the one that I have given, namely, that the Rama in our hearts is the Ferryman who will take us across. We cannot all create poetry as Tulsidas did. But we can fill our life with poetry by bringing God into it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-4-1928

191. SPEECH AT GATHERING OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS, AHMEDABAD[1]

March 31, 1928

Mahatmaji, addressing the students, expressed satisfaction that his suggestions had been carried out. He however regretted that the boys were not as clean as they ought to be. Putting on khaddar, he said, indicated that they were clean both bodily and in their hearts.

The mill-owners, Gandhiji continued, were not extending their helping hand by becoming liberal in donating money. He was conferring with the mill-owners and requesting them to pay all the money subscribed by them to the Tilak Swaraj Fund for the benefit of the children unconditionally without interfering in any way in the administration of the schools, which must be solely left to the Labour Union. Even if they did not give any money these schools would go on.

God is great and if you have faith in Him you would get money from any source, provided you have true ideals.

To teachers, Gandhiji said that they must not make any use of books for imparting education, as books spoiled eyes and blunted the intellect. He himself had experienced that. He understood that in Russia they were conducting one thousand schools for peasants and that they were giving education without the aid of books by making all possible use of the senses. He asked them to clean their own houses and streets themselves and not to depend on others for doing the same.

Concluding, Mahatmaji asked them to make their schools ideal in every way, so that the boys and girls of the mill-owners might envy them and the mill-owners might be tempted to send their children to the labour schools. On truth depended the foundation of education, and they must always resort to truth.

The Hindu, 31-3-1928

[1] A spinning demonstration by the students of the schools run by the Ahmedabad Labour Union was held in the morning.

192. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have for a long time wished to write to you just a line. I was told that I could look forward to meeting you at Madras. But that was not to be.

Will you kindly tell me why you have preferred the cry of boycott of British goods, principally British cloth, to boycott of foreign cloth and why also boycott of British cloth only pending settlement?

I hope you have regained your original health.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13143

193. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 31, 1928

MY DEAR SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. The terms that I think the mill-owners should agree to are as follows:

(1) The prices should be regulated by a special committee representing all interests.

(2) The production both as to kind and quantity should also be regulated by the said committee.

(3) Mills should cease to sell any mill-cloth under the name of khadi and should cease within three months at the outside of the date of acceptance of terms to manufacture any cloth that is likely to compete with khadi and to this end the committee will specify from time to time what the mills may not manufacture.

(4) Mills will organize not only the sales of mill-cloth but they will sell khadi also through the agencies thus organized.

(5) Mills should use no foreign yarn, no foreign silk, no foreign wool nor artificial silk.

(6) Mills should whole-heartedly identify themselves with the boycott of foreign cloth movement and to this end should put forth all their energy towards gaining control over piece-goods merchants, other middle men and cotton market in so far as it may be possible.

(7) If a clear understanding is arrived at with mills, khadi depots will naturally become agencies for the sale of mill-cloth under terms laid down by the said committee.

(8) Mills should hand to the said committee such funds as may be required from time to time for propaganda. This, in my opinion, may not exceed one lakh of rupees.

This letter is being hurriedly dictated. You will therefore please supplement these conditions with those stated in the two issues of *Young India*[1] if there is any omission. You will not publish this letter in any case, and, you will please remember that these are only my own personal views, and if anything substantial is to come out of these talks, [th]ere will have to be a formal meeti[ng of a]ll concerned.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. SHANTIKUMAR
BOMBAY

From a photostat: C.W. 4787. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

194. LETTER TO RAI HARENDRANATH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 31, 1928

DEAR SIR,

I have your kind telegram. I am extremely sorry that I shall be unable to attend the Conference. I however wish you

[1] *Vide* "What Can Our Mills Do?", 15-3-1928, and "Foreign Cloth Boycott—Some Questions", 22-3-1928.

all success and hope that the Conference will not forget khaddar which represents the dumb millions.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAI HARENDRANATH
CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE
BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
CHANDRI, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13142

195. SATYAGRAHIS, BEWARE!

When a member of the Hunter Committee asked General Dyer the leading question with reference to the Jallianwala Bagh: "Was it your idea to instil fear of the Government in the minds of the people by acting ruthlessly?" the latter, enthusiastically accepted the suggestion and replied in the affirmative. However, the reign of terror had not begun with General Dyer. It is the legacy of tradition and the monopoly of Indian bureaucracy. It can, however, be said that General Dyer gained notoriety for this repression. Hence we know it also as Dyerism. As bureaucracy is dependent for its very existence on a policy of Dyerism, it does not hesitate to seek shelter under the latter when occasion arises. According to it such an occasion has arisen in Bardoli. Hence it may be said to have launched repression on the bania satyagrahis who are regarded as cowardly and submissive. Eight of these satyagrahis have been served with notices that if they do not pay up their land revenue stipulated therein before the 12th of April, their lands will be confiscated. The notice served on one bania gentleman shows the amount of revenue due as Rs. 160. Perhaps we could not have found fault with the Government if it had confiscated land worth Rs. 160, but to confiscate land worth thousands of rupees for the sake of Rs. 160 is nothing but repression. Under this policy, on certain occasions, the punishment for a slap is not another slap but the gallows. We shall call anyone who extorts a thousand rupees for a debt of one rupee a tyrant, a ten-headed Ravana.

What reply will the banias, who are said to have forethought, give to this? Will they betray cowardice or prove themselves worthy of having joined the army of satyagrahis?

Vallabhbhai has warned not once but repeatedly that the Government has by legislation acquired the right to confiscate

land, to imprison people, etc., and that it has time and again given proof of the fact that it will not hesitate in the least to exercise those rights. Hence neither they nor others should be flabbergasted by this notice of confiscation. They should have faith that the Government will not be able to derive any benefit from the land which would be confiscated in this manner and that it would not go to a traitor who would come forward to purchase it if it is auctioned. Land which has been filched in this manner is like unprocessed mercury which is bound to erupt as boils.

Land is not more precious than one's pledge or one's self-respect. There are myriads of landless people in this country. During the last floods, many people's lands were eroded and layers of sand have now been deposited over them. Just as Gujaratis withstood the wrath of the heavens with courage and fortitude, may the satyagrahis of Bardoli similarly put up with this wrath of the Government and may they stand by their pledge!

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-4-1928

196. THE NATIONAL WEEK

The forthcoming National Week is the ninth of its kind. In this Week, we should take stock of the progress made by us. However, instead of that we find despondency in many places. For us this Week is the time for calculating the national sum total of achievement, for introspection and for self-purification, for uniting the hearts of Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and others, for Hindus to welcome in their midst those men and women who have been regarded as untouchables and to serve them, and for Hindus, Muslims and others to take exclusively to khadi and boycott foreign cloth.

However, today we seem to have forgotten these limbs which sustain the nation. Those who have aith in any of these causes are making efforts to promote them. But now all this is not being done on an extensive scale. Today we do not hear people say, as they used to do in the past, that swaraj cannot be secured without these.

An attempt should be made during the National Week to bring about a change in this state of affairs. Those who have an unswerving faith in constructive activity should make great efforts in this direction, irrespective of whether some or all national insti-

tutions make such an effort; it is only from such efforts that an all-embracing activity will and must start again. None should entertain any doubts that khadi is the one visible activity that can be taken up by children, men, women, Hindus, Muslims and all others. The talk of boycott is everywhere in the air. However, there seems to be some confusion regarding boycott at the moment. Some persons advocate the boycott of British goods, others of British cloth alone and that too until such time as a peaceful solution is arrived at, while yet others advocate the permanent boycott of foreign cloth. All these things cannot go on at the same time. After the first two intentions had been proclaimed for twenty years, the people found on deeper reflection in 1920 that the only way of boycotting foreign cloth which was possible as well as obligatory was to replace it by khadi. Moreover, this idea of boycotting foreign cloth does not depend on any conditions but holds good for all time. And that which is everlasting is beneficial even in small measure whereas that which is dependent on conditions is beneficial only if it materializes in an appropriate measure. If the latter brings about only partial results, it may even prove harmful.

Hence we ought to free ourselves from this delusion and make constant efforts to carry on propaganda for khadi for the sake of boycotting foreign cloth or, in other words, for the sake of the poor of India. In order to do that:

1. those who do not already wear khadi should do so and advise others to do likewise;

2. all should spin as much as possible and inspire others to do likewise;

3. all should contribute as much as possible for this cause and collect funds from neighbours.

In this connection, what Shri Vithaldas Jerajani writes is worth noting:[1]

The figures given here are worth pondering over. Bombay is the barometer for gauging the feelings of politically-conscious India. It is not too great a venture for Bombay to reach the figures of the first year. That is like a drop in the ocean in the matter of making the boycott a success.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-4-1928

[1] The letter is not translated here; *vide* "Notes", 29-3-1928, sub-title, "Special for National Week".

197. *MY NOTES*

Orissa's Plight

I give below an extract[1] from Shri Chhaganlal Gandhi's letter:

The reader should remember that these starving children who wander about aimlessly, who pick up from the sand and eat banana skins which have been thrown away, are our own brothers and sisters. If we proudly call India our mother, we cannot but look upon these forlorn children as our brothers and sisters. What can swaraj mean to them? What will they say if we ask them to define swaraj? Shall we fill their stomachs by throwing uncooked rice at them by way of alms? Shall we let them pick up banana skins from the sand? Shall we let them eat rotten grain? Or shall we make human beings of them by making them industrious and providing them with some occupation? In my humble opinion, swaraj lies hidden in the search for a remedy for the starvation in Orissa.

Cheap Khadi

The person in charge of the Shuddha Khadi Bhandar on Richey Road has sent the following note[2]:

If we wish to boycott foreign cloth, the stock of khadi lying in this small shop will be sold out on a single day of the week. One such shop should not have much difficulty in meeting its expenses.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-4-1928

[1] Not translated here. It gave a harrowing picture of Orissa in the grip of famine.

[2] Not translated here. It contained the rates of rebate offered on different varieties of khadi during the National Week from April 6 to April 13. *Vide* also "Notes", 29-3-1928, sub-title, "Special for National Week".

198. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Of course the mill-owners would gladly give whatever may be wanted if only we would undertake to advertise their wares; but it is not possible for us to do so unless they accept our terms. Copy of the latest correspondence will interest you. You will please treat the whole thing as strictly confidential.

I wish Hemprabhadevi could be induced to give up her moroseness which creeps upon her so often even against her will.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 2

From a photostat: S.N. 13144

199. LETTER TO OTTAMA BHIKKHU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I am sorry indeed that anybody should have mentioned anything to you about my proposed visit to Burma. Even if I come to Burma I do not expect any contribution from Burmese. If I come I should certainly hesitate to express my views on the political situation until I had studied it and could speak on it with confidence.

Yours sincerely,

REV. OTTAMA BHIKKHU
SHWEZADY KYAUNG
AKYAB

From a photostat: S.N. 13145

200. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter.

The enclosed copies will tell you what progress is being made in the negotiations with the mill-owners. I however agree with you that nothing will come out of them at the present moment. But the negotiations may fructify on due occasion. There was a time when the mill-owners were absolutely defiant about boycott propaganda. I shall write to you after these negotiations are finished.

Though Romain Rolland's first expected letter has arrived and [he] warmly looks [forward] to my proposed visit, it does not enable me to come to a decision. As the time for arriving at a fixed decision is drawing nearer, my diffidence is growing. There may be however a cable from Rolland next week and it may decide my fate.

Meanwhile there is no going to Singapur. I am fixed up here for the time being. If I do not go to Europe, I am due to go to Burma and pass there two months, going to a hill-side and making collections during my stay there.

I am quite of your opinion that some day we shall have to start an intensive movement without the rich people and without the vocal educated class. But that time is not yet.

You do not tell me where Kamala is to pass the summer months.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13147

201. LETTER TO H. M. AHMAD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am passing it on to a friend[1] who is better able to reply to your questions than I am, and I have asked him to write to you directly.

Yours sincerely,

H. M. AHMAD, ESQ.
SCHUHUMANNSTR.17
BERLIN N.W. 6

From a microfilm: S.N. 14276

202. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

You never write and I somehow copy your bad example. An opportunity has now offered itself to break through that undesirable practice.

I enclose herewith a letter. You are better able to answer the two questions than I am. I have told Ahmad that I have passed the letter on to you. Please therefore answer his two questions as briefly as you can.

What are you doing? How are you feeling? I do expect great things from you.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13148

[1] *Vide* the following item.

203. LETTER TO SADASHIVAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

MY DEAR SADASHIVAM,

Sjt. Jeevanlalji of Calcutta requires rest and change. He has been advised to go to Bangalore. Will you please secure a small bungalow or a flat on monthly terms? It should be well lighted, well ventilated and roomy. The more isolated it is the better, as it is required for recuperation. The sanitary surroundings should be perfectly good. If such a bungalow is available, before closing I want you to telegraph to me giving me the situation and terms. I would like you to give this matter early attention.

Sjt. Jeevanlalji's Madras agent—he has a branch of his business in Madras—will see you perhaps in this connection. You will then please help him.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13149

204. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have been regularly receiving your letters. But I never get the time to write to you. I had your telegram also. There is the expected letter from Rolland. He seems to like the idea of my going and has been already prompting associations to send me invitations. But as the time for deciding is nearing, I am growing more and more diffident. I am still waiting before coming to a final decision for his expected cable.

Mr. Mukul Dey is here and began operation immediately he came.

I have not been able yet to talk with Ambalal. I will not fail to do so. I hope it is not a case of phthisis with Rati's wife. Can't

you persuade Gurudev to take a long rest in Europe? There is no reason for him to age so quickly.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13150

205. LETTER TO RAMJI DAS JAINI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I fear that it is distance that lends enchantment to the Ashram. I do not know that at your age and with your habits already formed you could exchange your comparatively soft life for the comparatively hard life of the Ashram. But if you are seriously desirous of being in the Ashram, you should first of all study its constitution and then come and live in it for a few days and see for yourself its life.

I am sorry I have no copy of the constitution at the present moment. But it is reproduced in Natesan's publications of my writings and speeches. The constitution has undergone alterations but nothing of a substantial nature. You will notice in it that it is necessary for the inmate of the Ashram to live the life of a celibate.

Yours sincerely,

RAI SAHEB RAMJI DAS JAINI
P.O. MAJITHA, DT. AMRITSAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13138 a

206. LETTER TO REMINGTON TYPEWRITER CO.

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 1, 1928

MESSRS REMINGTON TYPEWRITER CO., LTD.
YUSUF BUILDING
CORNER OF CHURCHGATE STREET AND ESPLANADE
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

I am in receipt of Rem. Portable No. 61625 which I had sent you for slight repairs and adjustments.

I am exceedingly glad to say that the machine is working to my entire satisfaction.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13146

207. LETTER TO SATYANANDA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 3, 1928

DEAR SATYANANDA BABU,

I have your letter. It gives me joy to think that you do remember me occasionally. You will have seen from the pages of *Young India* that I am trying my best to induce mill-owners to shoulder the burden of bringing about a boycott of foreign cloth. We may not go beyond the negotiations at the present moment. But the ground will have been prepared for future action, if we can do nothing just now.

I am not at all sure in my mind as to the propriety of going to Europe. I am therefore still vegetating and still awaiting for the call from within. The next fortnight will perhaps decide the matter. If, however, the negotiations take a concrete shape, of course I do not go because I flatter myself with the belief that a successful prosecution of the boycott will demand my continuous presence in India.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 13155

208. LETTER TO RAMI GANDHI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 3, 1928

CHI. RAMI,

I have your letter. The handwriting this time cannot be considered good. The lines are not straight. You should improve your health. Look forward to doing a good bit of khadi work during the National Week.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9707

209. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 4, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your telegram. I am sending not Jaisukhlal Gandhi but Mathuradas who is bringing this letter. He is perhaps better fitted for the work because his knowledge of English is better and being a Cutchi knows the language and habits of many people there. Of course he is a well-tried worker. He has been working in connection with khadi for many years now and has a wide knowledge of mercantile business. He was born and brought up in Malabar. He really came with Lakshmidas. He has been just now taken up by Kakasaheb for the Vidyapith in order to develop the charkha work. Therefore he is loaned to you from the Vidyapith and his honorarium will be paid by the Vidyapith. His travelling expenses are being paid just now on your account, that is, the Committee's account, but if there is any difficulty about paying his railway expenses, you will please tell me. I take it that you won't want to keep him beyond 15th of May. If you do want anybody beyond that time, I will have to send you someone else because he will be wanted by Kakasaheb on the first of June and before that he would want to go to Calicut to bring his family.

About your own honorarium, I have now a letter from Thakkar Bapa who says you told him also that you would want no more than Rs. 150. What is this? I do not mind the Rs. 200, but I want to know how you came upon Rs. 150 and why afterwards you had to increase your demand? I am anxious for all of us to be deliberate and firm in all we do. The only hope I see of our regeneration lies in some at least developing decision, forethought and the like. You are not to take this amiss, nor to revert to Rs. 150 unless you can clearly do so whilst you are doing relief work. But if you find that you made a miscalculation or if you fixed Rs. 150 without previous consultation with Mrs. Malkani and others concerned, you must humbly make the admission and ask for Rs. 200. You understand why I write all this, don't you? I want you to come up to my expectations.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. N. R. MALKANI

From a photostat: G.N. 927

210. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 4, 1928

MY DEAR RAJAN,

You have put me a very difficult question. But after giving very careful consideration to the whole of your argument, I incline towards your accepting an honorarium for whole-time work in connection with the Fellowship. You will not be able to put your whole soul into it if your attention is divided between two trusts. One or the other or both must suffer, especially when there is likely often to be a conflict between the two. On the principle that the labourer is worthy of his hire, I see no ethical objection against your accepting an honorarium for your work for the Fellowship.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. A. PAUL
7 MILLER ROAD
KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 13160

211. LETTER TO B. SHIVA RAO

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The enclosed is the best I can do for you.[1] You want an article. You might as well get blood out of stone as get an article from me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. SHIVA RAO
THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
ADYAR
MADRAS 3

From a photostat: S.N. 13158

212. MESSAGE TO "NEW INDIA"

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 4, 1928

I wish *New India* many years of useful service to the country. May its revival hasten the advent of swaraj.

From a photostat: S.N. 13158

213. PRAYER SPEECH AT ASHRAM

[*April 4, 1928*][2]

The first lesson in emulating Hanuman is to apply all one's senses to the task in hand. In order to do this, one's vision must remain unwavering and pure. The eyes are the lamp of the body and, one may add, of the soul also. For inasmuch as the soul dwells in the body, it can be looked at through the eyes. A man might through his speech present a false show and deceive

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] According to *Prajabandhu* the speech was made on April 4 in connection with Hanuman Jayanti.

others, but his eyes would reveal him. If he does not have a steady unwavering look in his eyes, his real nature will be betrayed. Just as physical ailments are diagnosed by examining the tongue, spiritual maladies may be detected by looking at the eyes. Hence children should be taught to look straight, right from their childhood.

Hanuman's eyes had a steadfast gaze and showed that, just as Rama's name was ever on his lips, it filled his heart and pervaded every fibre of his being.

I like the custom of installing Hanuman in our gymnasiums; this however does not mean that we wish to gain physical strength alone or that we worship merely Hanuman's physical strength. We should certainly become physically strong; but we should also know that Hanuman did not have the physique of a giant, he was the son of Vayu[1], hence his body was as light as a flower and yet wiry. However, Hanuman's distinctiveness lay not in his physical strength but in his devotion. He was an incomparable devotee and servant of Rama. He found fulfilment in serving Rama like a slave and he performed with the speed of wind whatever service was asked of him. We therefore worship Hanuman and instal him in gymnasiums because though we do physical exercise we are going to become servants—servants of India, servants of the world and, through these means, servants of God. It is through this humble service that we shall catch a glimpse of God.

Hence we should not even say that we worship Hanuman only for his *brahmacharya*. Every servant has to practise *brahmacharya*; how can anyone who has taken the vow of service enjoy the pleasures of sense? It is necessary for one to practise self-control even to render the limited service to one's parents; it cannot be rendered if anyone yields to his passions as I did.[2] Similarly, how can anyone who would serve the Ashram, serve men and women, boys and girls, how can he afford to gratify his sensual desires? And serving the Ashram is such a small matter; it is like a drop in the ocean. Hence anyone who would serve the world should flee his desires.

However, mere fasting and penance are not sufficient to keep away from pleasures of sense; this can be achieved through a Hanuman-like devotion. Hence the key to *brahmacharya* and all other virtues is found in single-minded devotion. Every evening we recite:

[1] Wind-god

[2] *Vide An Autobiography*, Pt. I, Ch. IX.

विषया विनिवर्तन्ते निराहारस्य देहिनः ।
रसवर्जं रसोऽप्यस्य परं दृष्ट्वा निवर्तते ॥[1]

The senses of him who fasts may well be quietened, but this does not help in controlling the desire for gratifying the passions; the mind very often becomes more restless when the senses become weak; then the mind runs more after the objects of pleasure; that too is calmed by the vision of Rama. This is the message of Hanuman, the lesson to be learnt from his life.

Yesterday I used an adjective which I had never used previously to qualify *brahmacharya.* I said that Hanuman's *brahmacharya* was *sattvik*, and, while praising *brahmacharya,* I mentioned three distinct types of it—*sattvik*, *rajasik* and *tamasik*. Whereas Hanuman's *brahmacharya* was of a *sattvik* nature, Meghnad's was *rajasik*. One who practises the latter type of *brahmacharya* has anger and pride. Total surrender is the mark of the *sattvik* type. It cannot be said that either of these two was inferior to the other in physical strength. Hanuman however could defeat Meghnad because the latter was full of pride, while Hanuman was full of devotion and so possessed additional strength.

We should, therefore, keep our vision pure, our hands and feet pure and our speech pure and, by doing so, develop the capacity to imitate Hanuman to some extent. We certainly wish to improve our physique by practising *brahmacharya*, but the underlying motive is that we wish to become devotees of Rama even through the means of our body and thereby serve the world. It is not that if we took care of the outer the inner would automatically take care of itself. However, if we keep on taking care of the physical side and if this is not a mere veneer, the mind too will one day become steadfast and only then shall we be as good as Hanuman.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-4-1928

[1] When a man starves his senses, the objects of those senses disappear from him, but not the yearning for them; the yearning too departs when he beholds the Supreme. *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 59

214. REMEMBER THE UNTOUCHABLES

Within two days of the publication of this issue, the National Week will be on us. We used at one time, in the process of self-purification, to picket liquor dens. I am reminded of those days as I go through the following paragraph from an address received from the members of the Coimbatore Adi-Dravida Association:[1]

> The old order has not changed even to a small extent, and even our souls are despised by the other Hindus so that we are not allowed to worship in temples the one God. . . . The churches and mosques have their doors wide open to receive us and the missionaries in charge of them extend us a hearty welcome. The Government tempts our young men by locating liquor shops in or near our *cheries*, the living quarters of our community. If industrial institutions took the place of such shops and if social workers befriended us instead of *abkari* contractors, we have no doubt that our progress would be assured in a very short time. We, therefore, earnestly appeal to you for help to organize industrial schools in or near our living quarters to save our community from ruin.

We need not consider during the National Week what the Government has done or not done, but we are bound to consider what we have done and what we can do. Whilst there is no doubt that public opinion against untouchability has been strengthening day by day, public action still remains weak. We have not even been able to induce the keepers of public temples to throw their doors open to the suppressed classes nor have we been able to replace a single liquor den with an industrial school or a refreshment room where, instead of the fiery liquid, they can receive health-giving nutritious drinks and other refreshments in clean surroundings.

Young India, 5-4-1928

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

215. BAGHAT STATE AND SACRED THREAD

With reference to my note in *Young India*[1] of 22nd March last about the treatment of Kolis in Baghat State, president of the Arya Samaj, New Delhi, writes:[2]

The president is no other than Rai Saheb Lala Ganga Ram, the well-known philanthropist and public worker of Delhi. Lala Ganga Ram's letter seems to leave little doubt about the correctness of the allegations made in the previous letter published in these pages. I had hoped that his informants had exaggerated the happenings in Baghat State and that it had not treated as a crime the wearing of the sacred thread by the so-called untouchables. I have before me a copy of the letter written to Lala Ganga Ram by the Prime Minister of the State. It runs:

> In reply to your letter dated the 10th January 1928, I regret that the State is unable to supply you the copy of the judgment, as Arya Samaj is not a party to this suit.

I cannot help remarking that the reply is in extremely bad taste. It is a bad copy of some English officials' laconic and stereotyped replies which they ordinarily send to correspondents who ask inconvenient questions. But these estimable gentlemen as a rule respect rank and status and do not crudely invent things to suit their replies. The Prime Minister of Baghat State has dared to ignore Lala Ganga Ram's status in society (I mean apart from his title) and for the sake of insulting him has imagined what Lala Ganga Ram has never said in his letter. For he never asked for a copy of the judgment in the case nor claimed to be party in the case against the unfortunate Kolis. This is essentially a matter for the Hindu Mahasabha to take up. I do not know whether the Sabha countenances the wearing of the sacred thread by the so-called untouchables. Whether it does or not, it cannot possibly approve of coercion being used against those who choose to wear it. Immediately the thread becomes a monopoly carrying with it a punishment for its breach, it will cease to be sacred. It was sacred because and when the wearers were men of learning and piety. It will soon become a mark of degradation if the alleged example of Baghat State proves infectious.

Young India, 5-4-1928

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 22-3-1928, sub-title, "Can It Be True?".
[2] The letter is not reproduced here.

216. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE A.I.S.A.

The All-India Spinners' Association has issued its second annual report. It is a thoroughly businesslike and instructive document. The letterpress occupies 31 octavo pages. The appendices occupy 24 pages. If I may advise the reader, I would suggest his reading the appendices first. They will give him a detailed analysis of the income and the expenditure of the Association duly audited and certified. He will discover at a glance how over 20 lakhs of rupees have been laid out for the promotion of the greatest, because the most extensive, national industry. If he will study the figures carefully, he will perceive the value of investing a portion of his income in this industry, and the return he would get for his investment would be the prosperity of the poor villagers on whose toil his own income depends. Among the appendices he will find also the resolutions of the All-India Spinners' Association defining its general policy, conditions on which loans are granted, conditions on which credit sales may be conducted by its depots and on which bounties are given to private khadi dealers and commissions to khadi hawkers. He will also find in them the constitution of the All-India Spinners' Association, the names and locations of different agencies and other information of value.

Having glanced through the appendices, let him go through the report if he has a half-hour or an hour to spare and he will know the way khadi has progressed. He will know the condition of the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund. Whereas the total production during 1925-26 was Rs. 23,76,670, in 1926-27 it was Rs. 24,06,370 and the sales during the same period were Rs. 28,99,143 and Rs. 33,48,794, respectively. Investors in khadi may therefore derive comfort that khadi is not a losing but a substantially progressive proposition. As against 50,000 spinners according to the previous report, there were 83,339 serving 5,193 weavers during the year under report. As against 1,500 villages, now there are 2,381 villages where hand-spinning is done through the agency of the Association. And just as the figures about spinners and villages were understated in the last report, so are they underestimated in the report under notice. There are 177 khadi production centres of which 62 are departmental, 41 aided and 74 independent. There are 204 centres of which 115 are departmental, 44 aided and 45 independent, and the total number of

workers under the direct control of the Central Office and in aided organizations is 748. This does not include those working in the independent organizations. Of improvement in the qua'ity of yarn the report states:[1]

It is satisfactory to note that whilst there is improvement in the quality, the prices have undergone steady reduction. The following information about the special khadi service furnished by the Technical Department will be read with interest:[2]

I must skip over the other instructive paragraphs of the report. I hope I have given sufficient information to whet the appetite of the reader for possessing the report itself which can be had at the office of the All-India Spinners' Association, Mirzapur, Ahmedabad, for 4 annas worth of postage stamps.

Young India, 5-4-1928

217. SASTRI'S SELF-DENIAL

The decision of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri to remain in South Africa beyond his term will gladden the hearts of the Indian settlers as it has pleased and eased the minds of those here who are interested in the South African question and who have been anxiously following the course of events in that sub-continent. Familiarity in Sjt. Sastri's case instead of making the Europeans indifferent or lukewarm has made them look to the Agent General as their friend and peacemaker. By his punctilious impartiality combined with firmness wherever necessary Sjt. Sastri has inspired them with trust as well as respect. The grateful Indians have not been slow to discover and appreciate the worth of this distinguished countryman and they were urging him to prolong his stay, if it was at all possible. Let them now demonstrate their affection and appreciation by becoming united and by being correct in the observance of all their part of the agreement. I tender my congratulations to Sjt. Sastri on his self-denial. For I know how anxious he was to return home at the end of his term.

Young India, 5-4-1928

[1] & [2] The extracts quoted are not reproduced here.

218. A MILL-OWNER ON BOYCOTT

An Ahmedabad mill-owner writes:[1]

The letter is refreshingly candid. I wish that the other mill-owners would take the view that this correspondent takes of the possibility of standardization of prices and necessarily therefore of cloth. It is refreshing too to find that fluctuations of cotton prices do not much affect prices of cloth. And I would add in spite of the correspondent's view to the contrary that it is possible to control cotton prices if it is possible for us to boycott foreign cloth. For prices of our cotton are dominated by America only because we export large quantities of cotton and that too to the market for which America also caters. If we consider it to be possible, as it has proved to be possible, to appeal successfully to the patriotism of the buyer of cloth it is equally possible to make a successful appeal to that of the grower of cotton. Indeed the importance of foreign cloth boycott is derived from the knowledge that for it to succeed all the component parts of the nation have voluntarily to join the movement. It cannot succeed unless there is willing and hearty co-operation from the vast mass of the village population. My faith in the movement persists because I know the masses to be sound. Only the classes block the way because of their want of faith. If they will only shed their fear and their unbelief and lead the movement, the masses will follow. *And this boycott is the only thing in which it is possible for the masses actively to join without having to make much sacrifice.*

I do not share the view of the correspondent that artificial silk may be used with impunity in the manufacture of cloth in our mills. His comparison of foreign dyes and foreign size with artificial silk is hastily made. Just now we contemplate boycott only of foreign cloth, not of dyes and size. All foreign yarns therefore, whether silk, wool or cotton, natural or artificial, must be taboo; or if foreign artificial silk yarn may be used with impunity why not foreign cotton or wool or natural silk yarn?

But with foreign cotton it is a different thing. We need not exclude from use foreign cotton, for it is a raw product. What we *must* boycott for the sake of the starving masses living in enforced idleness for at least four months in the year is *foreign yarn and cloth which the masses can spin and weave in their cottages.*

[1] The letter is not reproduced here.

The indigenous mill-cloth too would be intolerable if it displaced these masses without finding for them an equivalent industry. The mills have a place in the economy of national life only to the extent that they supplement the national industry of hand-spinning in millions of our cottages. They will be a hindrance if they compete with them and supplant them. Their natural tendency no doubt is to supplant both the village spinner and the village weaver. It is only when the mill-owners, mill-agents and their share-holders become truly national and conduct their affairs not to exploit the masses but for their benefit first and their own profits after, that they will be able to appreciate and not merely to join but to lead the boycott movement. That, if they take a long view of the matter, they have nothing to lose and much to gain has been made clear by the foregoing letter. Indeed it is a self-evident proposition. Boycott of foreign cloth, if it is the best assurance of steady work for the masses, is also an equal assurance to the mills of steady profits in the long run.

But the history of the mill industry at least during the past seven years of the mass movement does not fill one with much hope of the mills rising to the occasion and realizing their duty to the nation. Instead of looking upon khadi with favour and fostering it, our mills have entered into an unfair, unpatriotic and illegitimate competition with khadi. The following are the figures of khadi manufactured by our mills during the respective years:

	1925	1926	1927
Lb.	2,28,87,970	2,72,36,337	3,39,77,851
Yards	6,50,48,487	7,43,13,280	9,43,80,368

They have sold this enormous quantity of coarse cloth as khadi and have not hesitated in some cases shamelessly to use the charkha label, etc., with the deliberate purpose of exploiting the khadi atmosphere created by Congress organizations. It gives one pain to have to say that the mills that thus manufactured coarse cloth and palmed it off as khadi did a distinct disservice to the nation.

If their eyes are now opened and if only to do belated reparation for the grave wrong done by them to the nation, they will head or at least join the boycott movement on the terms suggested by me or others equally effective.

This painful discovery of the figures has however a bright side to it. It is a revelation even to an optimist and khadi expert like me of the hold that khadi has acquired over the people. It shows that a much larger number than we are aware of has in obedience to the nation's call changed their taste and preferred to buy and use coarse cloth instead of the fine cloth they used to

wear before. They have undoubtedly often paid higher prices than they used to. They have bought mill khadi largely under the mistaken belief that it was genuine and that it had the *imprimatur* of the Congress. An ardent lover of the masses has in these figures and my legitimate deductions therefrom much food for thought and equal cause for hope. As for my feared visit to Europe, I may assure the correspondent that I do not propose to visit Europe if an effective scheme of boycott materializes in the very near future.

Young India, 5-4-1928

219. NOTES

Africans and Indians

Deenabandhu Andrews, when he was here recently, drew my attention to what the Poet had written in the Press in connection with a movement in the Transvaal said to be going on on behalf of Indians to isolate themselves from the Africans and wanted me to give my opinion on it. I do not think that any importance need be attached to the alleged movement. For I feel that it has no bottom. Indians have too much in common with the Africans to think of isolating themselves from them. They cannot exist in South Africa for any length of time without the active sympathy and friendship of the Africans. I am not aware of the general body of the Indians having ever adopted an air of superiority towards their African brethren, and it would be a tragedy if any such movement were to gain ground among the Indian settlers of South Africa. Needless to say, I entirely associate myself with the opinion so forcibly expressed by the Poet condemning the movement. If, as has been stated on behalf of the leaders of the so-called movement, "it is humiliating to the Indian sentiment and to the Indian national honour and civilization to think that our Agent General is trying to bring us down to such a low level", it will ill befit us to repudiate such a sentiment when it is expressed by the South African whites in respect of ourselves. And what is more, the South African whites are able to translate their contempt and prejudice against us into action whereas ours towards the South Africans can only react against ourselves.

Women and Jewels

A lady doctor in Tamil Nadu sends a letter accompanying her gift referred to in it. As the letter, in my opinion, enhances

the value of the gift and is likely to serve as an example to others, I compress its contents as follows, omitting the names of the donor, the Raja and the place:

> Just a few lines to tell you that I sent you yesterday a parcel of diamond ring and a pair of ear-rings which were given to me about 12 years ago in remembrance of service in the palace. . . when the heir was born to the Raja. It grieved me much when I came to know that the Raja did not have even the courage to invite you to his palace when you passed by and I was told that it was due to fear of the Government. You can imagine my feeling when after your visit I looked at these jewels which before used to travel with me. Now when I looked at them, bitterness rose in my breast and then it turned into deep sympathy for the starving millions about whom you spoke when you were here. I said to myself, 'Are not these jewels made out of the people's money? And, what claim have I to keep them as my own?' I then made up my mind to send them on to you. You could use them for khadi service and so help some of the starving millions. I feel sure that it is a better use to make of them than that they should remain in a corner of my box. A friend has valued them at Rs. 500. They are therefore insured for that amount. I only hope that some generous person will give you more than the actual price, knowing the circumstances in which these things are being sent to you. You may make what use you like of this letter.

It is remarkable how we imagine fears even when there is no cause. There are many Rajas who have openly and willingly supported khadi and therethrough the cause of the poor from whom, after all, as my correspondent correctly puts it, they derive their riches. It is true that khadi has a political significance; but we have not yet come to the stage when support of khadi can be safely declared by the Government to be criminal. Every philanthropic movement can be turned to political use, but it would be a sad day when on that account it is boycotted even as to its philanthropic aspect. But it is only fair to state that the Raja to whom reference has been made by the lady doctor is not the only one who is afraid of supporting khadi or showing ordinary courtesy to a public servant like me. It is well however that the Raja's boycott of me has stimulated the gift. But I would like all the sisters who may chance to see this note to realize that it is not necessary to be able to emulate the fair donor to have occasions like the one that set her athinking about her duty to the starving millions. Surely it is easy enough to realize that so long as there are millions of men and women in the country starving for want of food because of want of work, the sisters have no warrant for possessing costly

jewels for adorning their bodies or often for the mere satisfaction of possessing them. As I have remarked before now in these pages, if only the rich ladies of India will discard their superfluities and be satisfied with such decoration as khadi can give them it is possible to finance the whole of the khadi movement, not to take into consideration the tremendous moral effect that such a step on the part of the rich daughters of India will produce upon the nation and particularly the starving masses.

KARVE JUBILEE

It gives me joy to publish the following appeal by Sjt. V. M. Joshi, President of Karve Jubilee Committee:[1]

Professor Karve is not an ordinary man who is satisfied if he satisfies an indulgent public which, if it proves itself exacting and imperious at times, issues a certificate of merit ninety-nine times out of hundred if some little service is rendered to it during recreation hours. Prof. Karve has obeyed a master that is never generous, never indulgent and ever exacting, though invariably just. This master is his own conscience. His self-effacement, his single-minded devotion to duty, his exhaustless energy, his honesty in all circumstances, his faith in the midst of opposition, his irrepressible optimism are a national asset of the first magnitude. There may be two opinions about the work to which he has devoted his great gifts but there can be only one opinion about the gifts themselves. And the latter are any day far more valuable and lasting than the work itself. The organizers of the Jubilee have set before themselves a very modest task to collect Rs. 25,000 to be presented to Prof. Karve for his work. It is a sum that should readily come forth from the numerous men and women who have come under the influence of this giant among silent and selfless workers or who have profited by his labours of a lifetime.

Young India, 5-4-1928

[1] The appeal is not reproduced here.

220. *LETTER TO DR. C. MUTHU*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 5, 1928

DEAR DR. MUTHU,

I have your kind note. I wish your enterprise every success. So far as I have understood your method, it is to treat phthisis patients [by] open air and dietetic treatment. As you know I have a horror of drugs and the like. I therefore welcome every honest effort to replace them with drugless and what might be termed natural methods of curing a disease which need never find an abode in this sunny soil of ours.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13161

221. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 5, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

You will see my article[1] on mills in the current issue of *Young India*. The latest move is on their own to start a Swadeshi League without reference to us. Do not think anything concrete is going to come out of my effort. By all means let them prosecute their own plans. So far as I can see, we must confine our attention to khadi hawking.

No final decision has yet been arrived at about the European visit. I am shirking it and making it depend upon some further indication from Rolland which I should have next week.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13162

[1] *Vide* "A Mill-owner on Boycott", 5-4-1928.

222. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 5, 1928

DEAR SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. I shall await further developments.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4788. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

223. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

MY DEAR KHAMBHATTA,

I have your radio from Aden. I did not know when I replied that it was a radio message. I therefore sent a telegram[1] to your Bombay address. Mr. Kapadia received the telegram and acknowledged it. I hope that Jal took the voyage comfortably and that he and you all profited by it.

I am sending you herewith a letter[2] to Austrian friends who will guide you in the choice of a doctor should you decide to have the operation in Vienna.

May God bless Jal. With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13167

[1] This is not available.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

224. LETTER TO FREDERIC AND FRANCISCA STANDENATH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

DEAR FRIENDS,

The bearer, Mr. Khambhatta, is a dear friend and co-worker. Under advice from his doctors he has gone to Europe in order to have his only son examined and, if necessary, operated upon. I know that you will give him all the help and guidance you can in the choice of a good surgeon, etc.

Yours sincerely,

DR. AND MRS. STANDENATH
GRAZ (IN STYRIA)
TRAUTMANSDORFGASSE I
(AUSTRIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 14281

225. LETTER TO MRS. M. M. SINGH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not usual to receive in the Ashram people who are unknown to any of the members. I would therefore like you, if you seriously want to be in the Ashram, to write to the Secretary of the Managing Board giving all the particulars about yourself. I may also inform you that at the present moment the Ashram is overcrowded.

Yours sincerely,

SARDARINI M. M. SINGH
UPTON HOUSE
NEW CANTT. ROAD
DEHRA DUN

From a microfilm: S.N. 13163

226. LETTER TO M. DEWAN NARAINDAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If human relations were regulated according to rules of arithmetic, what you propose would be suitable. But just as pressing 30 meals into 10 will not be the same as taking the 30 meals regularly from day to day, similarly will 6 months' spinning compressed into 15 days not do. The idea is to test one's powers of sustenance and discipline.

Nor will it be enough for you to offer satyagraha against your parents and wrest an unwilling consent from them. You must get that consent by diligence and force of character.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. DEWAN NARAINDAS
C/o KRISHNA COTTAGE
NEW HIGH SCHOOL BUILDINGS
HASSAN ALI EFFINID ROAD
KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13164

227. LETTER TO Y. R. GAITONDE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

MY DEAR GAITONDE,

I thank you for your prompt opinion. I shall await the books you promise.

You say that if a drum is introduced an engine would be necessary. But I understood from the American friend of whom I spoke to you that the drum could be worked with man-power or even animal-power without much difficulty and with little ex-

pense. And do you think that a drum is necessary for the development of the little tannery?

Yours sincerely,

Y. R. GAITONDE, ESQ.
C/o B. 12 AMBEWADI
GIRGAUM, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 11397

228. LETTER TO GANGA RAM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

You will notice I have again returned to the subject of the Kolis in the Baghat State.[1] It is a shocking thing. When I received your first communication, I had no idea that my correspondent was my old friend the Rai Saheb. When, therefore, I made the discovery, it gave me pleasure.

Who is this Dewan and what is the position of the Baghat State? What is its population? Is there any public opinion? How is the State reached? Have the Kolis given up the thread out of fright?

Yours sincerely,

LALA GANGA RAM
ARYA FARM
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13165

[1] *Vide* "Baghat State and Sacred Thread", 5-4-1928.

229. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter. Nothing is yet certain about the proposed European visit. It is difficult for me to make up my mind.

As to the article you want, I would ask you to take pity on me. I am so thoroughly washed out and have to give so much time to *Young India* and *Navajivan* that I have very little left for managing any more writing.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN
49/I.C. HARISH MUKERJI RD.
BHAWANIPUR
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13166

230. LETTER TO J. B. PENNINGTON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters for which I thank you. I have been so busy that it has not been possible for me to overtake your book.

As to Miss Mayo's performance, there is no argument left for me to advance, if you think that there is no distinction between my writings in *Young India* and Miss Mayo's book. If your experience of India coincides with Miss Mayo's, no argument can possibly convince you to the contrary.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. PENNINGTON, ESQ.
5 EWELL PARK GARDENS
EWELL, SURREY

From a photostat: S.N. 14280

231. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

In continuation of my letter I send you herewith the enclosed. I am anxious now that you should adopt the suggestion as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13591

232. LETTER TO CHARLIE U. MORSELOW

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not perform any miracles nor do I believe in miracles. I would advise you to be content with what God gives you bearing in mind that there are many who are in a worse plight than you are. And, after all, physical blindness is not half as bad as moral blindness. And, whilst we have no positive control over physical infirmities, we have over the moral infirmities. If, therefore, there is any such thing as miracle, it should be attempted after one's moral welfare.

Yours sincerely,

CHARLIE U. MORSELOW, ESQ.
P.O. BOX 123, WATERLOO
NEW YORK, U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 14282

233. *LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI*

April 7, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I did not need your budget. I must not ask you to cancel your policy. I simply passed on to you what was burdening my mind. My inquiries must not oppress you. We all must try to look as we are. And if we could do that we would not worry over any questions. The Rs. 200 I shall find and that without any loss of self-respect. But you must always let me have the privilege of expecting the highest from you. Why should you worry about dowries? You are going to pay not a farthing. Why should the daughters be married in an Amil family necessarily? You must train the girls from now to forget that they belong to a caste. They belong to India and if you believe in my view of varnashrama, the matter becomes simple.

Of course you do not need to pay him anything beyond his, say, fare and food there.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 885

234. *LETTER TO I. P. THURAIRATNAM*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I wish the Students' Congress all success. I hope that the students will not forget the starving millions of the parent country and the most effective manner in which they can help is to identify themselves with them by adopting khadi.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. I. P. THURAIRATNAM
SECY., STUDENTS' CONGRESS
CHAVAKACHCHERI, CEYLON

From a microfilm: S.N. 13172

235. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

Better a dictated letter than none. My congratulations to Sohaila and many kisses on both the cheeks, on the lips, on the forehead and in the centre of the head of the baby.

I wish I had time to hear more of your songs.

Yours sincerely,

MISS RAIHANA TYABJI
CAMP BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 13169

236. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I have your letter. I resign myself to your letter to the Viceroy. Of course I entirely agree with you that if the States will give us assistance we shall receive it gladly. But I know that they dare not give it to an institution that is frankly a creation of non-co-operation and nursed in its atmosphere. But if they do with the certain knowledge that it is a non-co-operating institution, we should gladly accept their assistance.

The proposed European visit is causing me much trouble just now. I can't make up my mind. I know that I should not be so undecided like this. But what is the use of my hiding my weakness? I can't account for it myself. However, I should come to a decision in the course of the next fortnight at the latest. Improvement in health has no attraction for me. The meeting with M. Romain Rolland and a quiet conference with the chief men of Europe is what would take me to Europe. Let us see how God leads me.

What is the use of Begum Ansari and Zohra wanting me to

stay in their new abode? All the time I am there, they keep themselves at a safe distance hiding themselves behind the *purdah.* If they want me to be there, they will have to expose to view their superfluous bangles and other jewellery so that I can ease them of the superfluities and turn them to good account.

So far as the Jamia collections are concerned, I suspect that we shall do nothing beyond getting collections from personal friends, and, in order that this can be done it is necessary to have that constitution and trust-deed. Do please therefore expedite it as soon as you can.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13170

237. LETTER TO MRS. SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

It was good of you so promptly to reply to the enquiry addressed to your husband.[1] Please send my regards when you write to him.

Nothing is yet certain about my proposed visit to Europe. But even if I go to Europe I hardly think I shall be able to combine both Europe and America during the few months alone which I can allow myself.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13171

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Sam Higginbottom", 28-3-1928.

238. *LETTER TO A. A. PAUL*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

MY DEAR RAJAN,

Here is my message for the May issue of the *News Sheet*. If I agreed to give you a message for every issue, I could only have been in a drunken state and promises made in such a state are valueless.

I never knew that Joseph had lost a brother-in-law. It was good you gave me the information.

I hope you received in due course my reply[1] to your previous letter.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.
7 MILLER ROAD
KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 13173

239. *MESSAGE FOR "NEWS SHEET"*[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

True promotion of Fellowship is to be found in silent acts of fellowship. One such little act, therefore, is more than tons of professions.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13172

[1] *Vide* "Letter to A. A. Paul", 4-4-1928.
[2] Of the International Fellowship

240. *LETTER TO JOSEPH*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

MY DEAR JOSEPH,

Rajan Paul tells me that you have lost a brother-in-law. My sympathies are with you and your widowed sister. Tell Mrs. Joseph that though I have not said one word since, I have never forgotten the last scene when I left your house. I shall ever treasure the affection of which that scene was a testimony.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13168

241. *LETTER TO S. GANESAN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I have your letter with Dr. Marie Stopes's review. I do not propose to publish it in *Young India* as it seems to me to be more an advertisement of her books and her methods than a serious review of the chapters seriously written.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 file

SJT. S. GANESAN
18 PYCROFTS ROAD
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13174

242. LETTER TO ALICE SCHALEK

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with your notes of the interview.[1] The notes required considerable revision. I therefore send you a clean copy.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ALICE SCHALEK
AUSTRIAN JOURNALIST
NERON'S HOTEL
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 14284

243. LETTER TO S. A. WAIZE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I would love to take up your sister. But I doubt whether she would be able to stand the rigorous life of the Ashram. We have very little room at present. If, therefore, she comes, she will have to share a room with some sister or sisters. Then she will have to take part in the Ashram labours. The weather in Ahmedabad is very hot during this time of the year. And if she does not know Hindustani quite well, she will be at sea. If in spite of these drawbacks—drawbacks as they may appear to her—she is desirous of coming, please let me know and I shall place your letter before the Managing Board. And you will also let me know for how long your sister desires to stay here.

Yours sincerely,

S. A. WAIZE, ESQ.

From a photostat: S.N. 13176

[1] *Vide* "Interview to Alice Schalek", 20-3-1928.

244. *LETTER TO NARAYANA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have no doubt that you should resist the idea of marriage until you yourself are quite ready.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NARAYANA
27 THIRD CROSS ROAD
BASAVANGUDI P.O.
BANGALORE, S.I.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13178

245. *LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 8, 1928

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

You know perhaps that Krishnadas is not here at present. He has however sent me your letter of the 25th March. Why do you say that the Spinners' Register will mean purchasing yarn from cottage to cottage? I have not suggested any such thing at all.[1] What I have suggested is that we should know the spinners with whom the middle men deal. We do not want to do away with the middle men altogether. We must not be at their mercy either, nor must we be in the dark as to what is actually paid to the spinners. The Register, therefore, has to be taken periodically. Once we know who the spinners are, where they are, what they get and what they do, you need not bother about them again, say for six months. As a matter of fact there should be no difficulty in your coming in touch with the middle men themselves and with

[1] Gandhiji had called upon all units of the All-India Spinners' Association to collect data regarding the spinners supplying yarn to the A.I.S.A. depots. *Vide* "Letter to J. B. Kripalani", 12-3-1928 and "Notes", 15-3-1928, sub-title, "Instructive Figures".

the spinners through them. I don't know whether I am even now clear. Not knowing the practical working of these, there may be difficulties of which I have no knowledge. You will then write to me about those difficulties and I might be able to make concrete suggestions for overcoming them.

About the want of capital, I am going to confer with Jamnalalji and Shankerlal. You do not say definitely how much you require. Is Babu Shivaprasad Gupta ready to advance that sum without interest if repayment is guaranteed and if he is, what will be the period of such loan?

The last paragraph of your letter is bad. You can't afford to give way to despair under any circumstances. You have to hold on to the Ashram no matter what difficulties face you. You dare not take up any other work. Please write regularly.

Are you now thoroughly restored, or is there still some difficulty? If there is, you should now find Dr. Ansari comparatively free.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. KRIPALANI
GANDHI ASHRAM
BENARES CANTT.

From a photostat: S.N. 13177

246. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 8, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter. I do not remember Father having told me that he would be back in Bombay to confer with the mill-owners during the last week of this month. But he and I discussed the question of foreign cloth boycott at length and he had a conference with Seth Lalji, Shantikumar, Seths Ambalal, Kasturbhai and Mangaldas. It was a good conference, but nothing definite was done. I have now heard that the mill-owners are going to start their own Swadeshi League which means of course that we are not coming to any terms.

I had a long discussion with Lalaji today, for he was here for two days. He is enthusiastic about boycott of foreign cloth. I have supplied him with literature. He even suggested that I should invite a few leaders and confer with [them] about boycott. I told

him I had not the courage to do so. He is of opinion that if intense boycott propaganda is to be taken up, I must not go out of the country, wherein of course I agree; but I cannot take up intense propaganda unless politically-minded India is wholeheartedly with me and unless the agitation about temporary boycott of British cloth, principally British cloth, is given up. We have, therefore, come to this provisional arrangement that if anything concrete takes place by spontaneous action on the part of the known leaders, I should give up the idea of going to Europe. On the other hand [if] nothing of that kind happens and if otherwise I see my way clear, I should proceed and that Lalaji and others who are minded like him should cultivate an atmosphere for intense propaganda about foreign cloth boycott with or without the assistance of mills. I therefore suggest that you should confer with Dr. Ansari and others. I suppose they will all go to the Punjab and pass the resolution about foreign cloth boycott through khadi. I would warn you against any mention of indigenous mill-cloth. You can simply say: 'Whereas the only effective means of immediately demonstrating the united strength of the nation lies through boycott of foreign cloth, this Conference urges all concerned completely to boycott foreign cloth and adopt hand-spun and hand-woven khadi even though such adoption may necessitate revision of one's taste about dress and some pecuniary sacrifice.' You will also let me know the result of private discussions you may have with friends and advise me as to whether I should give up the idea of going to Europe. Dr. Ansari should really be able to decide.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13179

247. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 8, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I was thinking of you only early this morning, that is, just after prayer when talking to Pyarelal and here is your letter.

Suppose that there is a colony of orphans shipwrecked on an island, that they are all unmarried males, that they have never known that they ever had any parents, suppose further that they have a knowledge of letters and that from their reading they under-

stood that they had all parents; suppose then that they in the course of their readings come upon a philosophical book called "Our Spontaneous Origin", should the orphans feel convinced philosophically that they were all spontaneous creation? Just as the supposed philosophical book would not unsettle the conviction of the majority of the unsophisticated orphans, so should the philosophical book that you have read about the non-existence of God not unsettle your belief in God. If you will admit the fact of your having parents, how can you escape the fundamental fact of the First Cause? Having made sure of that, I am indifferent whether you call that First Cause God or some other thing. And having been also convinced of that fact it is wholly unnecessary to inquire how that First Cause disposes of justice or to inquire about the injustice that we seem to see around us. There are endless theories. I believe in that of cause and effect, that is, of the law of karma. It seems to answer all a man's doubts. But if they do not answer yours, you must wait, watch and pray and you will some day have the light. But if you do not believe in the First Cause, there is no hope. For to whom should you pray then? Therefore hold fast to your belief in God, never mind the reasoning. Can you reason out the existence of your parents? Will you not say, 'whether I can reason or not the existence of my parents is an absolute fact with me'? If you cannot prove it to the satisfaction of your inquirers, you will say 'my reasoning is at fault but not the fact'. Even so must you say to yourself, 'Though I may not be able to reason out the existence of God, I must accept the experience of and the belief of mankind in the First Cause'.

If even now you are not satisfied, you must ask me again.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13175 and 13180

248. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

[Before *April 10, 1928*][1]

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters. I do not think that I have missed any mail recently. It is good that Sushila is progressing in her studies, but I am worried about her health. I should like her to make every effort to acquire good health.

Nimu is here at present. Ramdas is on a tour hawking khadi. Afterwards he will go to Jamnadas's school. Both of them will work there. Devdas has gone to Delhi.

A proposal is being discussed about my going to Europe. I cannot make up my mind. The matter will be decided within a week.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Pragji that I got his letter. I have no time to write to him a separate letter. It appears that the cases of both have been decided now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4722

249. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 10, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have no time today to write myself. This is the National Week, and so I give as much time as I can spare and the body can endure, to spinning. Hence I am dictating this letter. You must have settled in Phœnix by now. I like your staying there. It would be enough if Sushila went to the town twice or thrice to take her lessons. As a matter of fact, knowledge of a language

[1] *Vide* the following item.

as well as other knowledge can be acquired by one's own effort. I hope that Sushila is now completely all right. Yesterday Mr. Wayne met me. We talked about his meeting Manilal. I did not engage him in any particular discussion, but I got the impression that he went away from here with some useful ideas.

Ramdas is hawking khadi in Kathiawar. Nimu is here. Devdas is teaching spinning, etc., at Jamia Millia in Delhi. These days the spinning-wheels are working non-stop in the Ashram. Kishorelal was ill, but is now reported to be recovering with common remedies. You must be getting letters from there, so I do not write about anything there.

Do you spend any time in studying the *Gita*?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4735

250. LETTER TO ALBERT GODAMUNNE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter about your brother. I meet him every day because nowadays I sit with the diners in the common kitchen where he also takes his meals. I am glad you have written to me about him. I shall keep my eyes on him, but I must also tell you that I have not nowadays got the time to come in close contact with so many inmates in the Ashram. Therefore my observation of your brother will be limited.

The money order has not yet been received, but it will be in due course.

Yours sincerely,

ALBERT GODAMUNNE, ESQ.
PROCTOR AND NOTARY
10 PAVILION STREET, KANDY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13157a

251. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 11, 1928

MY DEAR C.R.,

I send you the enclosed with copy of my reply. You will do whatever may be necessary. Perhaps you know these parties.

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
C/o KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13183

252. LETTER TO R. R. AITHEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I fear that I am unable to give you any useful guidance. I have not even been able to visualize your organization. But if you are desirous of coming to Ahmedabad, I shall be able to see you any day next week except Monday at 4 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

R. R. AITHEN, ESQ.
GENERAL SECRETARY,
INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN
150 WATSON HOTEL
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13185

253. LETTER TO SADASHIVA RAO

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 11, 1928

MY DEAR SADASHIVA RAO,

I have your three letters. My capacity for help in matters such as you relate is much less than my willingness. Though I know so many monied friends, I may not use my influence in the manner you suggest. You have therefore to paddle your own canoe and face the difficulties bravely. What does it matter if you are left without shelter? Do not millions live like that? And your daughters have received a training which should enable them to give a good account of themselves without your having made any provision for them. I want you therefore to discharge yourself like a man in the crisis that has overtaken you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13184

254. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 11, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter. What a pity Gurudev is so ill and has developed blood-pressure. This phthisis in India is a horrible business. If there is any truth in the theory of ultra-violet rays—so do I think there is—no one in India should suffer from that wretched disease.

You will remember that you have to finish the Shraddhanand series.

I have not yet met Ambalal, but I have not forgotten our conversation.

C. F. ANDREWS
SANTINIKETAN

From a photostat: S.N. 13152

255. A SEASONABLE PRODUCTION

Readers of *Young India* are familiar with the name of Richard B. Gregg, an American lawyer who was attracted to India over two years ago by the message of khadi and who has been studying the movement in a most minute manner ever since his arrival in India. After a year's labour, he has written a book on the movement which treats khadi in an almost original manner. Every statement he has made is supported by facts and figures and footnotes give the authorities upon which Mr. Gregg has drawn. The book is published by S. Ganesan, 18 Pycrofts Road, Triplicane, Madras, and is priced at Rs. 1-8-0. From cover to cover it occupies 225 pages of which 165-225 contain seven appendices. The book contains 12 chapters. Let the reader also understand that Mr. Gregg, when he writes of villages, writes of things he has somewhat seen. The three opening paragraphs of his introduction show the reader the way in which Mr. Gregg has worked:[1]

It was in order to remove this poverty that Mr. Gregg was driven to an examination of the various schemes proposed to that end and he was forced to the conclusion that the spinning-wheel was the only real solution. The author says:[2]

> This little book is a statement of how the project looks to one who had seven years of practical work and study in industrial and labour problems in America (much of it in cotton mills), together with two and a half years' study in India of the khaddar movement. The latter period included observation both in the villages and at the headquarters of the movement. The investigation was undertaken primarily to clarify my own thinking. . . .

The originality of Mr. Gregg's examination of the problem consists in his approach to it from the engineering aspect which is the title of the first chapter, and he has no difficulty in showing

[1] The paragraphs quoted are not reproduced here. Gregg had written: "In former days India was regarded as a very rich country, and prior to the Mohammedan conquest at least, the wealth was widely distributed among her people. . . . But now, although India is still considered a source of much wealth, the Indian people are ranked among the poverty-stricken of the world, . . . as Professor Gilbert Slater of Madras University says: 'The poverty of India is a grim fact.' "

[2] Only an extract is reproduced here.

that the material prosperity of a country is increased not merely by accumulation of power or machinery but by the right use of it. This is how he opens his argument:

> Following Mr. Ford's idea that the right use of power is more important than any particular kind of machinery, let us briefly examine the fundamentals of physical power and its utilization and then apply that as a test for the validity of the khaddar proposal. We will first state the whole engineering argument in brief, and then consider it in a more detailed fashion.
>
> All physical power is derived ultimately from the sun. Coal and petroleum are, in effect, reservoirs from the stream of solar energy of past ages converted and stored up by vegetation. Water-power comes from the action of sunshine evaporating water from the oceans and transporting it to the land and rivers in the form of clouds and rain. Even the mechanical energy of horses and cattle and man himself comes from food obtained from plants activated by sunshine. All the power used in modern industry and in the economic activities of man in past ages came from his using some part of the never-ending stream of solar energy. The old *Rigvedic* hymns sang rightly of *Savitar* the Sun god: "*Savitar* . . . Lord of every blessing;" and "God *Savitar*, the good-eyed, hath come hither giving choice treasures unto him who worships" (*R.-V.*, x. 149; i. 35).
>
> Any scheme which utilizes and efficiently transforms solar energy to a greater degree than was being done before is sound, from an engineering standpoint, and also from an economic point of view.
>
> We do not usually think of the charkha as a machine, but it really is so. It uses the available mechanical energy of a man, woman or child for producing material goods. The handloom does likewise. The mechanical energy is derived from the food eaten by the person. Though in a different degree, manner and mode, the process is the same as that occurring in a steam engine or hydraulic power plant, namely, the transformation of solar energy into mechanical motion.
>
> There are today great numbers of unemployed Indians. They are, in effect, engines kept running by fuel (food), but not attached to any machines or devices for producing goods. Mr. Gandhi proposes to hitch them to charkhas and thus save a vast existing waste of solar energy.
>
> If we want to increase the use of mechanical power in India, this is the quickest and cheapest way. The 'engines' are all present; a man is as efficient a transformer of fuel energy into mechanical motion as a steam engine is; the spinning and weaving machinery to be used is nearly all ready at hand in sufficient quantity to supply all needs. Any additional needs can be quickly and cheaply produced in India by artisans who need no further training in technical skill for this purpose; the speed and

quantity of output possible with charkha and handloom are more closely adapted to the needs of the Indian market and Indian producers than any other type or machinery; no foreign capital is needed to purchase the machinery, and therefore there will be no expensive interest payments or difficulties arising from absentee control; the maintenance of such a factory is inexpensive and can be done entirely by available workers without further training : the amount of training needed for operatives is a minimum and of a sort more easily acquired than for any other type of machinery; the 'fuel' or power cost for the man-charkha system will be nothing above the present food bill of the nation; the material to be used is available in practically every Indian province at a minimum of transportation cost; and the market is everywhere.

I must resist the temptation to quote from the other chapters. But if the foregoing excerpts have at all proved tempting for the reader, let me assure him that he will find that the chapters that follow are fully interesting and deeply instructive. Let me close this hasty review with giving the names of the remaining 11 chapters. It will be admitted that they are suggestive enough.

Chapters

Young India, 12-4-1928

256. PLACE OF KHADI

Lovers of khadi have been writing to me energetically warning me against coquetting with mill-owners in the vain hope, as they call it, of securing their active co-operation on terms beneficial to the nation in the prosecution of the campaign of boycott of foreign cloth. I appreciate their warning. Some of them are tried and experienced workers in the khadi movement. But I

do not give up hope of the mill-owners some day or other coming round to the national view. After all as an out-and-out believer in the method of non-violence, I may not let a single opportunity to slip of converting the mill-owners to the nationalistic view, even as I may not pass by a single occasion of converting Englishmen to the Indian view of India's good. After all, if we are to win our freedom by non-violent means, we shall have to knock at the doors of those who put obstacles in its way and plead with them to remove them. And even as in a bloody revolution those who are supposed to stand in the way are made to pay the last penalty whether they are countrymen or otherwise, so in a non-violent revolution are they, whether countrymen or foreigners, required to face satyagraha, if they will not listen to reason and will obstinately stand in the way.

I therefore see no harm in having stated the conditions on which mill-owners can co-operate with the nation. It would have been wrong not to have done so. And if they accept the terms, I know that khadi, i.e., the masses have nothing to lose. For if the mills work not for exploiting the masses as they now do, but for serving them, they will supplement the products of the cottage spinning-wheel and the handloom and not supersede them as they now do. There is no doubt that if they hesitate to accept the terms stated by me, they will do so because the logical consequence repels them even as the logical consequence of Englishmen really becoming servants of the nation repels them. I would therefore ask khadi lovers not to be afraid of my so-called 'coquetting'. If we are strong in our faith, if khadi has the inherent vitality we claim for it, if it is the need of the masses, and if we persist in our effort with them, they will not fail to realize it. Khadi will fail only when khadi lovers falter in their faith or if their faith is based on a mere shadow, i.e., if there is no grinding poverty among the masses, if they have no leisure hours during the year, or if, though they have spare hours, the spinning-wheel is not the most suitable and practicable occupation conceivable for many millions.

It is because of the implicit faith I have in khadi in terms of the propositions just stated and of the strength born of that faith that I am 'coquetting' with the mill-owners. It is quite likely, it is perhaps now practically certain, that no immediate good will come out of these negotiations. But they will serve for further action or guidance if we have not meanwhile already achieved boycott of foreign cloth.

It is therefore profitable to inquire, even at the risk of repetition, what place khadi has in any scheme of boycott. In my opinion, boycott of foreign cloth is both necessary and feasible only

because it affects and benefits the masses and can be achieved only if they co-operate. Boycott of foreign cloth would have but a temporary value if it could be obtained solely by the indigenous mills. And I hold it to be impossible in the near future to enforce the boycott through the single agency of mills. In my opinion, it is khadi alone that has made such boycott a practical proposition. Indeed it is so practical that if the politically-minded India were to take up the sales of khadi, it is possible to manufacture in a year all the khadi that may be required by the nation even though there may be not a single yard of mill-calico—foreign or indigenous—available. I affirm this on the basis of the assumption that the villages will mostly manufacture their own khadi and the organized centres will manufacture for those who are not self-spinners. Experience of past seven years shows that if there is a sudden famine of cloth in the country and if the masses are encouraged they have sufficient skill and the indigenous machinery for manufacturing their own khadi. No doubt a revolutionary change in the mental outlook and sartorial tastes of politically-minded India is necessary. I have no doubt that if the bulk of them do not respond now, they will have to do so when they realize that khadi has become irresistible. And to make it irresistible khadi workers have to work away with steadfastness, honesty, scientific skill and precision. I have 'coquetted' with mill-owners and discussed the possibility of immediate boycott of foreign cloth in association with them, in order to show that if they mean it they can give themselves the privilege of serving the nation at the same time that they serve themselves. Meanwhile, let none doubt that khadi is silently and imperceptibly revolutionizing the national taste and will bring about the boycott in its own good time, if it is not anticipated by some such combination as I have ventured to suggest.

Young India, 12-4-1928

257. NOTES

BREACH OF PROMISE?

When I was in Berhampur, Ganjam District, last year, I was taken to a temple which I was told was open to all including the so-called untouchables. I was accompanied by some untouchable friends. A few weeks after I received a letter that the trustees had declared prohibition against the entry of untouchables. I was loath to believe the statement. I, therefore, inquired and here is the reply to my inquiry:[1]

If the information is correct, it is clear breach of promise by the trustees—a promise that was publicly made not merely to me but to the public of Berhampur through me. I wonder whether the trustees have any defence or explanation to offer. The untouchables have undoubtedly a clear case for offering satyagraha in this case. I do hope however that the public of Berhampur will redeem their self-respect by insisting on removal of the bar, if the bar does as a matter of fact exist.

"HUMAN SPIDER OF MAJORCA"

I am indebted to Sjt. C. Balajirao of Coimbatore for the following interesting press clipping[2]:

Young India, 12-4-1928

258. SOUTH AFRICA INDIANS

The following letter, dated 24th February, 1928, addressed on behalf of the Minister of the Interior to the Secretary, South African Indian Congress, records the concession granted by the Union Government regarding the alleged fraudulent entries:[3]

[1] Gandhiji's letter, dated March 22, 1928, is not available. The correspondent, whose letter is not reproduced here, had written that the trustees of the temple were putting even greater restrictions than before on untouchables and that the latter had started losing faith in the untouchability movement of the Congress.

[2] Not reproduced here. It was about a "human spider" spinning hundreds of yards of thread in a minute with an instinctive skill handed down through fifteen generations.

[3] The letter is not reproduced here. The concession was that subject to certain conditions the Union Government would "refrain from the full enforcement of section 10 of Act 22 of 1913 as amended by section 5 of Act

If the condition regarding wives and children in clause (c) of the letter is not overstrictly enforced the concession should work well.[1]

Young India, 12-4-1928

259. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 12, 1928

MY DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter. I did not write without full knowledge of what was being done on behalf of mill-owners. They are starting a separate organization which will have nothing to do with us. However I am quite at one with you that we should leave no stone unturned to secure their full co-operation. I am doing all I can at this end and you will let me know what success you have with Sir Purushottamdas. But I would like you to study the possibilities of the charkha movement. It is not so hopeless as you seem to think. Let me put the position in a nutshell. Mills by themselves cannot achieve the boycott within the time that will satisfy the politician but mills if they play the game together with charkha can do so within a time that will satisfy the most sanguine expectations of any patriot. The charkha by itself can achieve the boycott within a reasonable period, the pace being dependent upon intensity of the work put in by the politicians. And as a khadi manufacturer, I am open to negotiate with anyone for supplying almost an illimitable quantity provided he does not bind me to the quality beyond a certain limit and does not mind the cost.

I send you a copy of the report of the Spinners' Association[2] and a little pamphlet which latter you can read in 5 minutes but which gives you some very telling figures. The only thing that hampers the progress of khadi is the want of demand and want of capital.

---

37 of 1927 in the case of an Indian who proves . . . that he entered a province of the Union, other than the Orange Free State, prior to the 5th July, 1924".

[1] The condition was that those wives and children, who were not already brought to the Union of South Africa before July 5, 1927, would not be admitted.

[2] *Vide* "Annual Report of the A.I.S.A.", 5-4-1928.

I am yet awaiting the expected reply from Romain Rolland. If he does not cable, I may get a letter from him next week.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13182

260. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

Thursday [April 12, 1928][1]

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have decided to hand over to the All-India Spinners' Association, the Kathiawar khadi work and all the equipment and debts relating to it. Taking responsibility for this work upon ourselves means my worrying about the money problems. I feel that there should be a regular resolution about this. You should therefore get such a resolution passed in the Committee or get the consent of members through a circular.

It seems that Revashanker Anupchand wishes to take possession of Manasukhlal's house in lieu of the debt which the latter owes him. If you know anything about this matter, please let me know. Valji says that you are of the opinion that Revashanker cannot take possession of the house.

What happened about the Morvi Antyaja School?

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: G.N. 5729

261. SPEECH TO TRAINEES AT KHADI VIDYALAYA, AHMEDABAD[2]

[Before *April 13, 1928*][3]

The idea of the Khadi Seva Sangh was mine. I felt that just as the Government has an organization, its *naukarshahi*[4], it would be good for us also to have an organization of workers. The Government's *naukarshahi* is called '*shahi*'[5] because its members,

[1] From the postmark

[2] The Khadi Vidyalaya was run at the Ashram for candidates selected for admission to the Khadi Seva Sangh.

[3] According to the source the speech was delivered during the National Week, i.e., between April 6 and 13.

[4] Bureaucracy

[5] "Royal"

although they are servants, function as rulers. But we are not '*shahi*' because we have to do real service. For admission to this organization a course of fixed period was prescribed because in order to be a khadi worker training and proficiency are required. The science of khadi is a serious affair; its scope is extremely vast, because through this science we want to serve the 33 crore people of India and through them the whole world. It is an empirical science; astronomy, on the contrary, is not an empirical science. The science of khadi is empirical because its experiments and conclusions are accessible to experience. Thirty-three crores of people can have direct experience of it. Hence its scope extends to where name of God reaches.

The vastness of this science can be realized from the fact that all the things that are done in textile mills we have to do in our homes. Those who run these mills have had to read a number of technical books the study of which is essential for acquiring proficiency in the work. Take only one process. Just as in the mills they have to test cotton, we too have to do it. The knowledge which they require as to the strength of cotton, cotton-gathering, etc., is also required by us. Our very first lesson is about cotton and it is a very important one. There are indeed many things which we have to do but which the mills are not required to do. For example, the mills do not have to bother whether in ginning the cotton-seeds remain intact or are broken, but we cannot afford to be careless in the matter. We want that the seeds should retain their properties. We want to feed these to the cattle and extract oil from them. Mills have nothing at all to do with all these things.

However rich we may be in resources, and however persistent in our efforts, it is all useless without a purpose. That purpose is national service. And it is so vast that one can go as deep into it as one chooses. There is no end to the labours of the mills because they have a selfish motive, they have to earn money. In their set-up there is scope for punishment as well as for reward and, after all, what is the principle of reward if it is not one of punishment? In our case there is no selfishness and no punishment. But it is not proper that since there is no selfishness we should not work as much as they do in mills. Our work is as deserving of effort as it is selfless. The more love and labour we pour into it, the quicker will be our victory. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose takes a leaf from a plant and very carefully and minutely examines it to see how many sections it has, whether it has organs of sense and whether it can feel as human beings do. He then places the results of his experiments before the world. Does he do this for money?

No. Then does he do so for fame? No. He does it without any selfish motive. But his objective is gaining knowledge, whereas our experiments are not purely for the sake of knowledge. Ours is an empirical science and we want to see its actual results. We have to observe carefully how much cotton is obtained from a given quantity of raw cotton, how much yarn is prepared out of that cotton and how much cloth is woven out of that yarn. And in this way we can calculate how many people have to put in how much labour in order to meet the cloth requirements of the whole country.

Acquire as much knowledge as you can in order to gain mastery of this science and carry out as many experiments as necessary. For this, you should have enthusiasm, interest and dedication. The person who cultivates this science with devotion will be granted the inner light by God.

But it is not enough for us merely to acquire knowledge of this science. Mere knowledge would be useful in mills only. We need character in addition to this knowledge. You have come here not for earning your livelihood but with a desire to serve, to dedicate your life to the cause of khadi, and for this character will be very essential. How will you go among the people without character? Who will accept your service? Nobody bothers about the character of people working in mills but everybody will enquire about your character. You have to go to the people as servants, not as tyrants. If possible, you have to be labourers living in their midst. For doing this a disciplined life is needed.

And cleanliness will be the first sign by which you can show your character. The impression which you will be able to create in the people by strict observance of the rules of cleanliness, you will not be able to do in any other way. And what is desirable is that you should not follow these rules for the sake of following them but it should become impossible for you not to follow them. You should so mould your nature that cleanliness becomes a part of it; if you find uncleanliness anywhere you should be unable to bear it. Uncleanliness anywhere, whoever may be responsible for it, should become an eyesore to us and unless it is removed we should find no joy in living.

We wish to offer ourselves as oblation in the national *yajna*. In order to do so we have to become pure and clean. Does it do any good burning a dirty thing? But if you burn something fragrant, the atmosphere is purified and the perfume spreads. Therefore let us become pure like sandalwood and offer ourselves up in this sacrifice. This is the purpose for which this Ashram has been established. Let the Ashram become the incense in the national

sacrifice and remove the foul smell wherever it may be found. This is our ideal. Indeed, this is not the Ashram's ideal only, but that of every khadi worker.

And are you aware what a high place your work occupies? If someone asked me what the place of khadi in relation to service of the cow or tanning was, I should surely say that it had the first place. According to the grand simile of Tulsidas, this is the most benevolent activity, even though it seems dull:

साधु चरित जिमि सरिस कपासू ।
निरस बिसद गुनमय फल जासू ॥

How monotonous spinning appears! The Punjabis tell me that it is a woman's work and that they cannot do it. Then there is neither honour nor profit in khadi work. If one becomes expert in dairying or tanning, one can get big emoluments. But in khadi there is no such attraction because it is the work of millions of people. We require seven lakh workers in order to organize khadi work throughout the country. How can we afford to give them high salaries? Perhaps seven lakh cow workers or tanning experts may not be required by the country, but it would not do to have less than this number for khadi work. This work is so important and it is required on such a big scale. Despite its seeming monotony, there is hardly any other work more interesting than this. If you start taking lots of interest in it, you would adorn yourself, the Ashram and the country as well.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 19-4-1928

262. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 13, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

You will see how I have used your letter to sustain the case for khadi.[1] I am anxious to receive your account of the tour that is now going on and more so to hear from you how it is affecting your health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1588

[1] The reference presumably is to "Place of Khadi", 12-4-1928.

263. LETTER TO A. ELLINGS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your cordial letter. I have not had the courage to decide whether I should respond to the European invitations or not. I am therefore waiting for an expected letter from Europe before I make up my mind. And such being the case, I do not know whether you want any statement from me. But I may say that I will devote all the time I can spare to the development of the message of spinning-wheel.

Yours sincerely,

A. ELLINGS, ESQ.
NEWS EDITOR,
"THE ENGLISHMAN"
9 HARE STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13187

264. LETTER TO MRS. BLAIR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 13, 1928

DEAR MRS. BLAIR,

I was delighted to hear from you after such a long time. It was good of you to think of the starving millions during the National Week. I can quite understand your inability at your time of life and in that uncongenial atmosphere around you to be able to spin steadily and well. But it does my heart good to find you ever thinking of the poor countrymen. Did you sell any khadi during the National Week?

Yours sincerely,

MRS. BLAIR
MALL VILLA 3
DARJEELING

From a photostat: S.N. 13189

265. *LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 13, 1928

I have your second cable. I see that after all you belong to a rich country. I, belonging to a pauper country, think fifty times before sending cablegrams and each time say to myself one rupee means 64 hungry mouths fed per day after an hour's work each. For one-sixty-fourth of a rupee buys sufficient flour to give one meal to one of the starving millions. When therefore we meet, if we do, I am going to ask you to account for all the cables that you have been spending money on although you represent the poor people of Poplar.

I can't summon up sufficient courage to make up my mind whether to go to Europe or not to go. I am therefore waiting for an expected letter from Romain Rolland. The expected letter will compel me to make up my mind finally. I don't know why I have difficulty in making up my mind about the European visit in spite of your glowing letter.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MURIEL LESTER

From a photostat: S.N. 14955

266. *LETTER TO T. NAGESHA RAO*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry I was unable to overtake it earlier. The only thing I can advise you to do is to live absolutely apart from your wife, take clean unstimulating diet, live in the fresh air the whole of the 24 hours, and fill up your waking hours with healthy activities and, when the body is tired, with healthy reading and thinking. You will produce little impression

upon your pupils until you have gained mastery over yourself.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SJT. T. NAGESHA RAO
TEACHER
BOARD HIGH SCHOOL
PUTTUR, S. CANARA

From the original: C.W. 9205. Courtesy: T. Nagesha Rao

267. *LETTER TO S. RAMANATHAN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 13, 1928

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

Here is a long letter I am obliged to send you. From the correspondence copies enclosed by . . .[1] with his letter, I presume that you have got conclusive proof of his dishonesty.[2] Before I can send him a final answer, I want to know whether there is any written or printed contract which . . .[3] signed and, if he did, whether it has any clause regarding automatic forfeiture of security. If there is no such written agreement about forfeiture, are you justified without the intervention of court in declaring forfeiture.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 file

From a microfilm: S.N. 13593

[1] & [3] Name omitted
[2] *Vide* the following item.

268. A LETTER[1]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You should know that I am now no longer in charge of the administration of the Association[2]. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj is the administrative head, but I am interesting myself in your case and have written to Sjt. Ramanathan. As soon as I hear from him, I hope to write to you again. Meanwhile let me say that from the perusal of the papers sent by you, there seems to me to be a very strong case against you. If Sjt. Ramanathan has positive proof of bribery and corruption, I should wonder what defence you could have.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13592

269. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 14, 1928

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I have your letter. If the meeting of the representatives of mill-owners comes off and if you give me due notice, I shall be present. But up to now there is no intimation from Motilalji.

I am in constant touch with the representatives of mill-owners and so far as I am aware nothing is going to come out of these negotiations. The mill-owners have decided upon a separate organization of their own from which they wish to eschew politics altogether. Sir Purushottamdas has declined to be president even of this association. And I understand that he has come to the conclusion that the mill-owners will do nothing substantial at the present moment. Mr. Birla writes to me almost

[1] Addressee's name is omitted; *vide* the preceding item.
[2] The All-India Spinners' Association

in the same strain, though he wants the boycott campaign without the mill-owners. After having had so many chats and so much correspondence with the latter, I incline to the same view. But that does not mean that we should not have the conference Motilalji has in view.

You will keep me informed of what is going on. I would like you to read all I have written about the mills in the pages of *Young India*. If you have not the articles I can send them to you.

I wish you will settle the Jamia constitution without delay.

Yours sincerely,

DR. M. A. ANSARI
AHMEDABAD PALACE
BHOPAL

From a photostat: S.N. 13191

270. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 14, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

This letter is in reply to yours. If the boycott becomes universal, we do not have enough *chhayal*[1] and dhotis. We can meet the demands of those who will go about, if need be, in a *langoti*[2], but wear nothing except khadi. To those, however, who are not ready to go to this extent but will take part in the boycott of foreign cloth if they can get some other cloth in its place, we may supply mill-made dhotis and saris. This means that the mills cannot manufacture any other cloth except what we decide and that, even in their shops, khadi will be sold as a substitute for the kinds of cloth which they do not manufacture. I can realize that the mills will not agree to this, but we cannot come to any understanding with them as long as they do not agree. My demand means that the mills should accept the permanent place of khadi. If you do not understand this point, please ask me. I do not want you to come here, leaving your work unattended there. You may discuss the matter when

[1] Women's upper garment
[2] Codpiece

you have occasion to come here and get the necessary opportunity.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9764

271. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 14, 1928

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. I understand about Manasukhlal although I am very much confused. I am of the opinion that if a person has incurred debts he himself or his wife or children have no right to keep anything from the wealth amassed by him. But I do not know the facts of this case. And that reminds me: may I know if something has been done about the memorial to him? It is necessary to pass the following resolution about khadi:

"As the Kathiawar Political Conference has many occupations, it does not have enough men and money to bear the responsibility of the khadi activity. Gandhiji who hitherto used to shoulder the economic responsibility does not have the physical means to do so. The All-India Spinners' Association is willing to shoulder the responsibility. Therefore the Committee of this Conference hands over the entire administration, all its money and the entire responsibility of the Kathiawar khadi activity to the All-India Spinners' Association."

Did Mulchandbhai get money for the *Antyaja* movement? Bhai Fulchand is not with you, so who helps you now? What other work of the Conference is going on at present?

Vandemataram from
BAPU

PS.

One can see that you sold quite a good amount of khadi.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5729

272. SERVICE OF THE SUPPRESSED[1]

The servant of the suppressed serves both himself and the society, as the oppressor ultimately oppresses himself, and the engineer is always hoist with his own petard.

We were on the point of being pariahs of the world, having treated the bulk of our brethren as untouchables. We are however likely to escape that catastrophe, as the Hindu society is trying to remove this blot in various ways and in many provinces. By far the biggest and most successful of these efforts is perhaps the one conducted by Anasuyabehn in Ahmedabad.

I addressed two meetings last month, one under the auspices of the Sweepers' Mahajan and the other a gathering of the children of the Labour Union schools.[2] Most of these children belonged to the suppressed classes. I take the following[3] from the report that was read at the meeting:

I do not know of workmen's children elsewhere receiving education under such orderly and careful organization and in such numbers.

The mill-owners ought to welcome the enterprise. On the contrary they are reported to have threatened to stop the monetary help they are at present giving. I do hope not only that it is a false alarm, but that they will yearly add to their contributions. In doing so I should humbly think they will be doing nothing beyond what they owe to their workmen.

A noteworthy feature of the enterprise is the large contribution of the workmen themselves towards the expenses, the ultimate aim being to conduct these schools wholly at their own expense. This of course presupposes their economic betterment, a stimulation in them of the desire for sacrifice and for the education of their children. In the mean while, the mill-owners and other philanthropists should keep the enterprise going.

The sweepers' meeting[4] was remarkable for the things it brought to light. I heard them sing their songs with flawless pronunciation. They were comparatively unlettered, but no one

[1] The Gujarati original, of which this is a translation by Mahadev Desai, appeared in *Navajivan*, 15-4-1928.

[2] *Vide* "Speech at gathering of Students and Teachers, Ahmedabad", 31-3-1928.

[3] Not reproduced here

[4] *Vide* "Speech at Sweepers' Meeting, Ahmedabad", 27-3-1928.

who listened to their songs could say that they belonged to the suppressed classes. But they are indebted, underpaid, and addicted to drink. Most of them beg and live on leavings from plates given to them by Hindus of higher castes. Their condition makes the conclusion irresistible that we the so-called high caste Hindus are responsible for their failings, and only the inherent strength of Hinduism is responsible for their good points. Hinduism has helped them to retain some of their culture in spite of the oppression they have laboured under. They would never have been reduced to their present state if we had regarded them as our own kith and kin.

Anasuyabehn may carry on welfare work among them, but who will look to their housing? I have seen the hovels they live in. It is the duty of the mill-owners and the municipality to provide them with better houses, and even if the former fail in their duty the latter may not do so, for better housing is essential as much for the health of the city as for that of the workmen.

UNTOUCHABLES AMONG UNTOUCHABLES

I addressed a third meeting[1] which was full of painful experience. There is a suppressed class night-school under the Gujarat Vidyapith conducted by the students of the Vidyalaya. They take considerable pains over the school, which until a short time ago had a very large attendance of Dhed children. The teachers thought of the sweepers' children and induced the sweepers to send their children to the school but as soon as these came, most of the Dheds withdrew their children from the school! The teachers therefore turned to me to find a way out of the situation. So I went there. Very few Dhed parents attended the meeting. One of them whom I tried to tackle said frankly, taking his stand on the traditional religion: "How may a Dhed touch a sweeper?" "But if the touch of the sweeper pollutes the Dhed, why should the higher castes touch the Dheds?," I asked. "We never ask them to do so," he quickly rejoined, and floored me.

This is how we are hoist with our own petard. If untouchability had been allowed to go on unchecked, each one of us should have considered the other untouchable and we should have been doomed. But thank God, in spite of the orthodox Dheds and Banias and Brahmins, the snake of untouchability is breathing its last.

The teachers of course ought to adhere to their resolve. They should not be angry with the Dheds, but neither should they let

[1] No report of this meeting is available.

go a single sweeper boy for the sake of the Dhed boys. Let them shower all their love and attention on the sweeper boys, and there their duty ends. Their determination and faith will melt the hearts of the Dheds, who, as soon as they find the sweepers' children growing in cleanliness and character, will not help sending their own children too. The anti-untouchability worker has to begin at the lowermost rung of the ladder. There are, I know, some 're-formers' who are apt to think: 'Better reform and serve our own castes before we reform and serve the Dheds.' This way of thinking betrays impatience and ignorance, impatience because we fight shy of obstacles, and ignorance because we forget that all other reform of Hinduism is nothing worth until the main reform, viz., the removal of untouchability, is achieved. This blot poisons the whole system, even as a drop of arsenic would poison a tankful of milk. Remove this and you open the door for other reforms, retain this and you render other reforms nugatory. The disease of a consumptive unless the root cause is tackled remains just the same whether you remove or do not remove a few abscesses on his body.

Young India, 19-4-1928

273. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SABARMATI,
Sunday [April 15, 1928][1]

CHI. MANI,

I haven't heard from you since you went there[2]; this is not good. Let me know your daily programme of work there. Write your experiences.

Read the enclosed letter and let me know if you wish to go to Ceylon[3]. How did you celebrate the [National] Week?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—Manibehn Patelne, p. 65

[1] From the source
[2] Bardoli
[3] For khadi propaganda

274. *LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU*

April 16, 1928

MY DEAR MIRABAI,

I was thinking to hear from you about Padmaja. Tell her she has to be well quickly or she will cease to be regarded as a brave girl. How long does she expect to be there? What about your visit to America?

I have become a coward. I can't decide whether to go to Europe or not.

With love,

THE SPINNER

MRS. S. NAIDU

From a photostat: S.N. 13192

275. *LETTER TO ANNIE BESANT*

SABARMATI,
April 16, 1928

DEAR DR. BESANT,

I thank you for your note. I may not join the movement of which you write. I feel we are having too many institutions and organizations without increasing men and women to work them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13193

276. *LETTER TO U. RAJAGOPALA KRISHNAYYA*

April 16, 1928

BHAI RAJAGOPALA,

God being Almighty can bring about anything.

Violence should not be answered with violence.

One cannot gain knowledge of dharma from a historical interpretation of the *Mahabharata*. And the *Mahabharata* is certainly not history.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Hindi original: C.W. 9238. Courtesy: U. Rajagopala Krishnayya

277. *CABLE TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*[1]

[On or after *April 16, 1928*]

RAJENDRAPRASAD
JAYAWATI
LONDON

SUCCESS CONFERENCE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14381

[1] It was sent in reply to a cable, received on April 16, seeking a message for the Youth Conference.

278. CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[1]

AHMEDABAD,
April 17, 1928

RT. HON. SASTRI
PRETORIA

THINK CERTIFICATES AT SETTLEMENT 1914 SHOULD REMAIN UNAFFECTED.[2]

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11974

279. LETTER TO K. MADHAVAN NAIR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is a confusion of thought about your action. If it was good for your friend to have the Law Membership, it was good both from a public point of view as well as a private point of view; and if it was legitimate for you to congratulate him in your private capacity, it was equally legitimate for you to congratulate him publicly and in your public

[1] This was sent in response to the following cable dated April 13, 1928, from SAIC (South African Indian Congress), Johannesburg: "Developments regarding new immigration law very serious. Clause 5 if fully put into operation will undermine rights secured by struggle to even registration certificate holders whose claims go back to the beginning. If any flaw may be found suggestive of illicit entry condonation is offered conditional upon surrender certificates presently held in exchange for letters conferring rights of holder temporary permits and excluding rights wives and children must be applied for before first November. Thereafter inquisition deportations and demoralization of community inevitable. We have urged that line be drawn 1914 at least to narrow field and preserve something of spirit of Gandhi-Smuts Settlement. Implore you cable Sastri to press for at least this concession. Reply urgent" (S.N. 11974).

[2] In reply Sastri sent a cable on April 18, 1928, reading: "Your cable. Last night Minister already announced condonation conditions without special treatment for certificated before 1914" (S.N. 11974).

capacity. You will not congratulate privately or publicly a friend upon being appointed a hangman, the post might carry a large salary and distinction on the part of those who might appoint him. Did we not think at one time that members of the present Government were very much like hangmen? It was really a matter for condonation[1] that a friend was offered and accepted Law Membership. But you may not share my view about the judgment of the present Government and those working it. If that is so, you may publicly defend your private conduct and take the risk of any odium that may be temporarily attached to it. After all, the approbation of your own conscience must be all-sufficing.

You are quite correct in saying that if our private judgment and feelings were to be suppressed, we should become hypocrites. It would be a bad day for us if servants of the public were to become hypocrites.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. MADHAVAN NAIR, M.L.C.
CALICUT

From a photostat: S.N. 13186

280. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 17, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter. Do you know that even when you wrote to me that you were going to the Punjab, I did not know that you were going as the president of the Conference? When Dr. Kitchlew wrote to me, he said nothing about who the president was to be. However I was glad when I learnt that you presided.

Of course I notice everywhere what you noticed at the Conference. I wonder if you have noticed what I sense everywhere, utter absence of seriousness and disinclination to do any concrete work demanding sustained energy.

Do you find any hope in the Punjab for Hindu-Muslim unity?

About the European visit, I can give you no definite news yet.

[1] Slip for 'condemnation'?

The fiasco about mills you know everything [of] by this time from Father.

From a photostat: S.N. 13194

281. LETTER TO SIR. DANIEL M. HAMILTON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your cordial letter and invitation. If I go to Europe, I would certainly love to be under your roof and discuss with you things of mutual interest.

I do indeed like your paper on modern finance. If there is any other literature bearing on it that you would like me to study, please guide me, and if you could find time to write for me a popular article or a series making banking easy for people to understand I would gladly publish the article or the series in the pages of *Young India*.

Yours sincerely,

SIR DANIEL HAMILTON
BALMACARA, KYLE
ROSS-SHIRE
SCOTLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 14293

282. LETTER TO HANS KOHU[1]

April 17, 1928

I have your letter. This proposed European visit is a matter of great concern for me. I am awaiting M. Romain Rolland's letter before I can finally decide.

From a photostat: S.N. 14951

[1] He was connected with the Peace Association, Jerusalem.

283. *MESSAGE TO STUDENTS' CONGRESS, CEYLON*

April 18, 1928

A message was received from Gandhiji wishing the Congress success and expressing the hope that the students would not forget the starving millions of the mother country, the most effective manner of helping whom was by wearing khadi.

The Hindu, 19-4-1928

284. *OFF THE TRAIL*

Remarkable are the attempts made by and on behalf of the Government to befog people's minds and take them away from the main point by raising side issues and discovering or professing to discover flaws in evidence produced in support of the main point. It does not suit the Government to admit that its history is a history of the ruin of India's industries and India's manhood. One of such recent attempts is to discredit the oft-told story in the Press and on the platform about the cutting off by the weavers of their own thumbs in order to escape the East India Company's myrmidons who sought to compel them to wind silk. If the weaver has no thumb he cannot do the work expected of him. And the way the history has been discredited is by digging out the credentials of William Bolts on the strength of whose evidence the late Romesh Chandra Dutt first made the statement regarding the cutting off of thumbs. The writer of the refutation is not able to say that William Bolts gave false evidence, but he says that William Bolts had no character to keep and that therefore his evidence is not worthy of credence. And he further says that he was a dismissed servant of the Company under its resolution which described him as "a very unworthy and unprofitable servant of the Company, his conduct has been distinguished by a tenacious adherence to those pernicious principles relative to the rights of inland trade, in which he appears to have been so conspicuously oppressive". Who does not know the tricks of pettifogging lawyers to discredit witnesses by proving their bad character as if a man with a bad character was ever incapable of making a true statement? I make bold to say that whatever the character of William Bolts, his testimony about the cutting off of thumbs need not be discredited unless it can be otherwise disproved, and there has

been nothing brought forward to show that that testimony is unworthy to be believed. On the contrary, what is more likely than that weavers in order to escape harrowing and continuous oppression would once for all render themselves physically unfit to do the work imposed upon them under unbearable punishment? After all, the evidence of William Bolts is only part of the story of the ruin of India's industries told by Romesh Chandra Dutt with such deadly effect and supported by the evidence of a variety of witnesses, the cumulative effect of whose evidence becomes irresistible. The main point is whether the industry was or was not ruined with the greatest deliberation. If it was, it makes little difference if the evidence of one witness is rejected and it will lie ill in the mouth of the criminal to say that out of a hundred witnesses one has told an untruth. But as I have said in this instance, there is nothing relevant brought forward to show that William Bolts's testimony is not to be believed. Let me however put before the reader a few relevant extracts from Dutt's first volume of the *Economic History of India*. He says:

> It will appear from the facts stated in the last two chapters that large portions of the Indian population were engaged in various industries down to the first decade of the nineteenth century. Weaving was still the national industry of the people; millions of women eked out the family income by their earnings from spinning; and dyeing, tanning and working in metals also gave employment to millions. It was not, however, the policy of the East India Company to foster Indian industries. It has been stated in a previous chapter that, as early as 1769, the Directors wished the manufacture of raw silk to be encouraged in Bengal, and that of silk fabrics discouraged. And they also directed that silk-winders should be made to work in the Company's factories, and prohibited from working outside "under severe penalties by the authority of the Government". This mandate had its desired effect. The manufacture of silk and cotton goods declined in India, and the people who had exported these goods to the markets of Europe and Asia in previous centuries began to import them in increasing quantities.

So much was the importation of silk and cotton goods from England stimulated by these methods that whereas in 1794 it was £156, in 1813 it rose to £108,824. In 1813 the Company's charter was renewed and important evidence was taken at the enquiry prior to renewal. "In respect of Indian manufactures," says the author, "they—the Commons—sought to discover how they could be replaced by British manufactures, and how British industries could be promoted at the expense of Indian industries."

The commercial policy of England is thus described by Henry St. George Tucker:

> What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and of late partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent, but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country.

Here is another testimony of the same character by H. H. Wilson:

> It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she has become dependent. It was stated in evidence (in 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent, on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitive duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted to her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.

According to Thomas Munro "the Company's servants assembled the principal weavers and placed a guard over them until they entered into engagements to supply the Company only."

The author then proceeds:

> When once a weaver accepted an advance he seldom got out of his liability. A peon was placed over him to quicken his deliveries if he delayed, and he was liable to be prosecuted in the courts of justice. The sending of a peon meant a fine of one anna (about 1½ d.) a day on the weaver, and the peon was armed with a rattan, which was not unoften used to

good purpose. Fine was sometimes imposed on the weavers, and their brass utensils were seized for its recovery. The whole weaving population of villages were thus held in subjection to the Company's factories. . . . The control under which the weaver population was held was not merely a matter of practice, but was legalized by Regulations. It was provided that a weaver who had received advances from the Company "shall on no account give to any other persons whatever, European or Native, either the labour or the produce engaged to the Company"; that on his failing to deliver the stipulated cloths, "the Commercial Resident shall be at liberty to place peons upon him in order to quicken his deliveries"; that on his selling his cloths to others, the weaver "shall be liable to be prosecuted in the Dewani Adalat"; that "weavers, possessed of more than one loom, and entertaining one or more workmen, shall be subject to a penalty of 35 per cent on the stipulated price of every piece of cloth that they may fail to deliver according to the written agreement"; that landlords and tenants "are enjoined not to hinder the Commercial Residents or their officers from access to weavers"; and that they "are strictly prohibited from behaving with disrespect to the Commercial Residents" of the Company.

Is it to be wondered at if weavers living under such intolerable restraint broke loose from it by cutting off their own thumbs? To revive an industry that was thus deliberately destroyed and which supplemented the resources of millions of people is the sacred duty of every Indian who loves his country and should be considered a privilege by every Englishman who would repent of the grave wrong done to a great country by his ancestors. But instead of repentance, we see a painful persistence in the policy initiated 150 years ago and an equally painful effort made by every means possible to bolster up the wrong.

Young India, 19-4-1928

285. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 19, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. You tell me nothing about your own health. I hope you are keeping well. Does this tour mean more khadi sales? Is there a great response from the people addressed,

or, are the collections from individuals?

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1589

286. *LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 20, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter. I am daily making fresh discoveries which go to show that we may expect nothing from the mill-owners at the present stage. They will yield only to pressure and the pressure of the Government is more felt than that of the Congress. But we may not be impatient. We need not put boycott of Indian mill-made cloth in the same category as that of foreign cloth. A negative attitude about mill-cloth will be quite enough to keep the mills under wholesome check. A positive boycott will only stir up bad blood without bringing us any nearer boycott of foreign cloth. We shall never, unless a sudden manifestation of mass energy comes into being, succeed in reaching the millions. In spite of all we may do, for the time being the latter will therefore be buying Indian mill-cloth and, further, there will be keen competition between Lancashire mills and Japanese on the one hand and Indian mills on the other. We have therefore to concentrate our effort on changing the mentality of the townspeople and those few villagers whom we are controlling and bringing them round to the adoption of khadi. If we set about doing this, the message of khadi will percolate the masses. Then both our and foreign mills will feel the brunt. That will be the time for our mills to come in line with us. The moment they do so we can complete boycott of foreign cloth inside of six months. The programme definitely therefore has to be this:

We leave Indian mills severely alone. We carry on a whirlwind campaign for boycott of foreign cloth through khadi, asking people to count no sacrifice too great in adopting khadi. We must have faith in ourselves and in our people and believe that they can make this which appears to me to be small sacrifice. But I confess that at the present moment I do not visualize the organization that is needed to carry on the boycott. The politicals who

are in possession of the platform do not mean to do any serious business. They will not concentrate on any constructive work. Jawahar in a letter truly describes the atmosphere when he says: "There is violence in the air." We read and hear so much about the boycott of British cloth in Bengal, but the letters I receive almost every week show that there is no real boycott. There is no organization behind it, there is no will working behind it. All things considered, what will you advise me to do?

The expected letter from Romain Rolland is due next Tuesday at the latest. I must after that come to a decision quickly. Supposing that Romain Rolland predisposes me in favour of the European visit, what would you have me to do in view of the talk of the boycott? Would you want me for the sake of the boycott not to go to Europe? I shall accept your decision whatever it may be. I am not personally keen on the European visit, but if all is plain sailing in India and if Romain Rolland wants me to visit Europe, I should feel bound to accept the European invitations. Will you please wire your decision? Jawahar will be with you and probably you will know Doctor Ansari's mind.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13197

287. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 20, 1928

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. After having read Revashankerbhai's letter, how can I press him to accept the proposal? Or do you wish only to use his name and do not expect him to do any work? If that is what you wish, then we should find out a temporary vice-president who is a good worker. It is certainly desirable that you should go to Bombay for all this work. Maybe Revashankerbhai could suggest to you in the course of discussion the name of such a vice-president or of somebody else as president. Tell me now what you want, so that I may act accordingly.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5691

288. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 20, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I cannot resist you, but I take you at your word. I send you a single sentence as follows:

Tolstoy's greatest contribution to life lies, in my opinion, in his ever attempting to reduce to practice his professions without counting the cost.

Thanks for your inquiry about my health. I appear to be keeping well at the present moment.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14287

289. LETTER TO PETE MATOFF

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 20, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I suppose I shall receive your book[2] in due course.

I shall feel deeply interested in whatever you may write to me about the condition of the Doukhobors in their new home.[3]

I am sorry I do not keep any photographs of myself. I am editing a weekly newspaper called *Young India* of which I send you the latest issue.

[1] The addressee had written: "The special issue of *Unity* in commemoration of Tolstoy Centenary would be incomplete if it did not contain a tribute from your pen."

[2] *Message of the Doukhobors*

[3] The addressee had written that Doukhobors "were persecuted in Russia [in] 1895-96 for burning fire-arms and other destructive elements" and "in 1899 were permitted to migrate to Canada".

I shall be interested also to know more about the new leader[1] who has just come to you from Russia.

Yours sincerely,

PETE MATOFF, ESQ.
THRUMS, B.C.
FREE CANADA

From a photostat: S.N. 14288

290. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 21, 1928

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I have not understood the last paragraph of your letter which I take first, though I understand that you will be unable for some time to bring out Mr. Gregg's book. It will be terrible if that happens after the long notices that have been taken in *Young India* of that book. Please wire on receipt of this when if at all you are likely to bring the book out.

You need not apologize for having sent the book on *Self-Restraint* v. *Self-Indulgence* to Dr. Stopes. Indeed having reviewed her books and even advertised them, you were bound to send my book to her. There was nothing wrong in it, but you are certainly under no obligation to publish her review of my book, unless of course you independently think that it is a good and well-argued review. And if you do not publish her review, you will be rendering her a service by telling her straightway why you decline to publish it.

Now about yourself. The only thing I can suggest to you is to become absolutely firm about your resolution and you will find that all your difficulties will vanish. Our difficulties really arise when we are tossed to and fro by our weakness and indecisive action. A decisive, firm, clear action is like the glistening sun which not only dispels all darkness but destroys all disease germs. The vast majority of our ills and our difficulties arose from our doubting state.

I shall have decided about the European visit next week and if I decide to go, it will be somewhere in the middle of May or it

[1] Peter P. Verigin

may be the first week. Do come when you like. But before you come try to finish all your announced commitments.

I am glad you have ceased to advertise birth-control publications.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13199

291. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 21, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letter. So you are now president of a Congress Committee. This is very good. And I am glad that Girdharilal is taking such keen interest in khadi.

I am forwarding your letter to Sjt. Vithaldas Jerajani for attention.

I quite agree with you that in khadi organizations there should be no indifference, certainly never any cheating. I am asking Vithaldas what terms can be offered.

If you believe in the First Cause, you must regard the 'why' of the First Cause as a futile question. Whilst it is laudable and legitimate to bring everything under the dominion of reason we must be humble enough to recognize that there must be things beyond reason, seeing that man is an imperfect being.

I am glad you are making yourself serviceable all round. I entertain no fear about your being lax in the duty entrusted to you.

I have not been able to decide anything about the European visit.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13200

292. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 21, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. You should start working gradually; there is no need to over-exert yourself. Do not be at all nervous if Nikhil's condition deteriorates. And whenever you do feel agitated, recall this verse that we always chant: "Whose mind is untroubled in sorrows and longeth not for joys, who is free from passion, fear and wrath—he is called the ascetic of secure understanding."[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRIMATI HEMPRABHADEVI
RUBY LODGE
P.O. BURGANDA
GIRIDIH
EAST INDIAN RAILWAY

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1656

293. CABLE TO DOUBLEDAY DORAN CO.

[After *April 21, 1928*][2]

CONSULT REVEREND HOLMES "UNITY" AND MACMILLAN PUBLISHER WHO HOLDS RIGHTS PUBLICATION ENTIRE BOOK.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14745

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 56

[2] The addressees, in a cable, dated April 21, 1928, had sought permission to publish an American edition of *An Autobiography*.

294. *LETTER TO JULIA ISBRUCKER*[1]

[Before *April 22, 1928*][2]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 7th ultimo. If I go to Europe at all and if I find the time and have the health for it, I shall gladly attend the Conference.

From a photostat: S.N. 14944

295. *CLERKS* v. *WORKING MEN*[3]

Sheth Ranchhodlal Amritlal has sent me the following scheme[4] of Industrial Insurance for clerks:

I understand little of insurance, but I take it that in this age of insurance any scheme of industrial insurance devised for the benefit of the clerical workers would be to their good. Only an insurance expert can offer helpful criticism of the scheme, and I take it that Sjt. Ranchhodlal has framed the scheme in consultation with some large-hearted expert.

There cannot be two opinions as to the fact that mill-owners, no less than other business and commercial firms, ought to take a paternal interest in the welfare of their employees. The relations between the employer and the employee have been up to now merely those of the master and servant, they should be of father and children. I therefore welcome the scheme.

Medical relief should not, in my opinion, be free. It should be genuine, prompt and cheap. Free aid is likely to undermine their independent spirit. Sometimes free aid is rendered perfunctorily and sometimes it is abused, from both of which evils the clerks should be saved.

The main grievance of the clerk and the working man is low pay and indifference to his welfare. The measures suggested in the scheme will be a direct and simple redress of the grievance, and I welcome them.

[1] Secretary, Inter-religions Conference for Peace, The Hague

[2] This letter was evidently written before April 22, on which date Gandhiji decided not to go to Europe. *Vide* "Letter to C. F. Andrews", 22-4-1928.

[3] The Gujarati original, of which this is a translation by Mahadev Desai, appeared in *Navajivan*, 22-4-1928.

[4] Not reproduced here

The condition of clerks is, in certain respects, undoubtedly much more pitiable. I have a vivid picture of their condition before my mind. It was given to me in 1915 in Calcutta by the Marwari Clerks' Association. It was a tragic tale of their helplessness. The number of clerks is small, their power of endurance and their capacity for union is feeble. Whereas the clerk is the only earning member of his family, practically all the members of the workingman's family are wage-earners. The clerks must bestir themselves to improve their own condition. They must unite, and must educate their dependants, especially their wives, to engage in some gainful occupation. They have lost all self-confidence and are helpless. Those who are honest, competent in their work, conscientious and hard working need not despair of finding a suitable situation.

True social economics will teach us that the workingman, the clerk and the employer are parts of the same indivisible organism. None is smaller or greater than the other. Their interests should be not conflicting but identical and interdependent.

Young India, 3-5-1928

296. LETTER TO ELISABETH KNUDSEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 22, 1928

DEAR MISS KNUDSEN,

I was wondering why I have not heard from you for such a long time. I am glad you have been having such success in Karachi. Owing to the National Week I suspended both the oil massage and your massage, and owing to pressure of work since, I have not been able to resume them. But in spite of the suspension I increased nearly two lb. in weight. As soon as the pressure decreases I hope to recommence massage.

Gangabehn is neither better nor worse. For the last two days she has been having some fever. The Calcutta patient left about ten days ago. Mr. Kothari is in Darjeeling at the present moment.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ELISABETH KNUDSEN
C/o DR. THIRANANDANI
"NEW TIMES" BLDGS.
KARACHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13201

297. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 22, 1928

You will be perhaps sorry to hear that I have decided not to go to Europe this year. There was no call for me to go in answer to the various invitations, but I felt that, if Rolland considered it worth while my going to meet him in furtherance of the common cause, I would go and incidentally respond to invitations from Europe. Now there is the expected letter from him. I send you a copy so that you can better understand my decision. Rolland's hesitation to let me go to Europe principally for the sake of meeting him shows that as an artist and as the interpreter of my message he does not regard it as necessary that I should leave all my important work here and go to Europe to meet him. And as there is no call in him to ask me to go or to accept my offer to go, I feel that if my letter to him was truthful, that is to say, if the deciding motive was to see him, I should consider his letter to be God's guidance in answer to my prayer. As days went by I was hardening my heart feeling more and more reluctant to go to Europe at the present moment and was feeling also that I had nothing to give to Europe, whereas my hands were absolutely full here. The call of the Ashram is incessant. It is becoming clearer day by day that if I am to do justice to the Ashram, which I claim to be my best creation, and if I cannot give it the whole of my time, I must at least give to it the major part of my time.

I had Burma in my mind if I did not go to Europe. But now I feel that I don't want to go to Burma either and I shall pass the summer in the Ashram, if Burma does not want me.

The heat does not trouble me. I am getting on quite well. And, of course, there are many other things which I can attend to if I am here. On the whole, therefore, I think that I must not go. But I can make this provisional decision that if everything goes well, I would go next year giving myself ample time from now to make all my preparations and dispositions so that I can go without difficulty, and then, perhaps, if I could do so and if the way is clear, taking America also to save time.

I had a long chat with Ambalal. He said that he had sent his own subscription but that he could not move further unless there

was a proper balance-sheet published. He was dissatisfied with the account-keeping and he seemed to be keen on a Gujarati committee because he said that the bulk of the money was found by the Gujaratis. So far as I could see I could not move him in his decision. But he said that in giving his opinion he was more guided by other donors than by his own instinct.

Marichi described to me the condition of your teeth or rather your toothlessness. To be toothless is by no means a great deprivation and it is decidedly a gain when one's teeth are a source of disease rather than of health.

Remember that you have to finish the Shraddhanand series. You should write something on Gregg's book.

I hope Gurudev is much better now.

From a photostat: S.N. 14958

298. LETTER TO SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 22, 1928

THE SECRETARY
A.I.S.A.
AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter about the loan guaranteed by Mr. Prakasam. I have written to him.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13594

299. TELEGRAM TO MATHURA PRASAD

[Before *April 23, 1928*][2]

YOUR LETTER. RAJKISHORI RAMNANDAN MAY ACCOMPANY RADHA WHEN SHE IS READY RETURN. PLEASE CONTINUE WIRE MAGANLAL'S CONDITION DAILY. WHAT IS CAUSE DELIRIUM?

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 14651

[1] This letter is not available.
[2] Maganlal Gandhi passed away on April 23.

300. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

April 23, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

As I write this letter, I have before me a telegram from Patna informing me that Maganlal is on his death-bed. Radha is there by chance. The friends at Patna are doing their best for him. Any moment there may be a telegram about his passing away. What mystery of God's will is this, that he whom I regard as my heir is preparing to go away, leaving his inheritance? If only all of you who remain behind could follow in Maganlal's footsteps!

I get the letters of both of you. Wayne must have given you my message. I think I have already informed you that he met me.

Ramdas is still in Kathiawar hawking khadi. He should return in four or five days. Chhaganlal fell ill and has, therefore, left Orissa and gone to Almora. Prabhudas is already there on grounds of health. But now he is doing khadi work all the time.

I want a sample of Sushila's English handwriting and language. What is her weight now? What painting is she engaged on at present?

If Sorabji spends beyond his means, do not forget your duty, as a friend, of restraining him. Never take advantage of his spendthrift nature. Always remain within the bounds of propriety. I have dropped for the present the idea of going to Europe.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have just received a telegram saying that God has taken away Maganlal.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4736

301. TELEGRAM TO BRIJKISHORE PRASAD

[*April 23, 1928*][1]

RECEIVED FINAL WILL OF GOD. SEND RADHABEHN WITH ESCORT. RAJKISHORI MAY ACCOMPANY. FUNERAL SHOULD BE SIMPLEST TYPE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 14651

302. TELEGRAM TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[*April 23, 1928*]

MAGANLAL PASSED EARLY MORNING. DO NOT GO. WIRED FOR RADHA BEING SENT UNDER ESCORT.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 14651

303. TELEGRAM TO RADHA GANDHI

[*April 23, 1928*]

RADHA
CARE SHAMBHUSHARAN

EXPECT YOU TO BE BRAVE. SUBMIT GOD'S WILL AND SING RAMANAMA. YOU ARE COMING WITH SUITABLE COMPANION. LOVE.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 14651

[1] This and the telegrams which follow were evidently sent on receipt of the news of Maganlal Gandhi's death on April 23.

304. TELEGRAM TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

[*April 23, 1928*]

KHUSHALBHAI GANDHI
RAJKOT

MAGANLAL DIED MORNING AT PATNA. YOU KNOW HE WAS MORE TO ME THAN TO YOU. YOU MUST NOT GIVE WAY TO GRIEF. HIS IS A NOBLE DEATH. NARANDAS LEAVING TONIGHT. INFORM SHIVLALBHAI'S PEOPLE.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat: S.N. 14651

305. TELEGRAM TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[*April 23, 1928*]

MAGANLAL DIED MORNING PATNA. RADHA WILL RETURN IMMEDIATELY. NO GRIEF PERMISSIBLE. MUST KNOW HOW TO ENFORCE OUR OWN TEACHING. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE REST.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 14661

306. TELEGRAM TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

April 23, 1928

JAMNADAS GANDHI
CARE JIVANLAL CO.
KANSARA CHAWL
KALBADEVI
BOMBAY

MAGANLAL DIED MORNING. NO GRIEF ALLOWED. NO INTERRUPTION ALLOTTED PROGRAMME.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 8697. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

307. LETTER TO SHRINATH SINGH

Vaisakha Shukla 4 [April 23, 1928][1]

SHRINATH SINGHJI,

I have your letter. I am acquainted with the Birla boys; hence I sent a message to them. It would take up all my time if I started sending messages to every newspaper and every editor that asked for them even though they may not be known to me.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRINATH SINGHJI
EDITOR, "BAL SAKHA"
INDIAN PRESS LTD.
ALLAHABAD

From Hindi: C.W. 2973. Courtesy: Shrinath Singh

308. LETTER TO KUNVERJI KHETSHI PAREKH

Silence Day [April 23, 1928][2]

CHI. KUNVERJI,

I have your letter. Consider with Jaisukhlal what should be done if the work at Balara stops. I did not understand your intention in the last paragraph. If however you have an offer of a better-paid job and you feel inclined to accept it, I will not force you to remain in the khadi work. If you remain in khadi work, you should do so merely in a spirit of service and without any thought of money, as Ramdas does. No one should feel that he is acting under coercion from anyone. I certainly like your work. Personally, I should like to keep you in the Ashram. But a proposal is under discussion just now that only those who observe *brahmacharya* should be allowed to live in the Ashram. Nothing has been decided finally. But I believe that there would be no difficulty in fixing you up at some other place if not in the Ashram.

[1] The letter bears the postmark 24-4-1928.
[2] From the postmark

Maganlal expired in Patna.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9710

309. LETTER TO SANTOK GANDHI

[After *April 23, 1928*][1]

CHI. SANTOK,

Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla is willing to employ Keshu, so you need not worry now about him. God will certainly ensure that he prospers. All of you should get absorbed in work. Take care of your health.

Write to me from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8672. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

310. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
[After *April 23, 1928*][2]

BHAI TULSI MAHER,

What you write about Maganlal is true. Let us be more vigilant than ever. Do not be elated or depressed by the ebb and flow in your work but do as much as you can without attachment.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6534

[1] Radhabehn Chaudhri states that this letter was written shortly after Maganlal Gandhi's death on April 23, 1928.

[2] It is likely that this letter was written after the death of Maganlal Gandhi.

311. CABLE TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY[1]

April 24, 1928

HEALTH GOOD. RECEIVED SASTRI'S SATISFACTORY REPLY.[2] MAGANLAL DIED YESTERDAY.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 11977

312. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 24, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter. Of course you know already the calamity that has befallen me on the death of Maganlal. It is well-nigh unbearable. However I am putting on a brave front.

I had not read the resolution asking the Congress to drop "peaceful and legitimate means" and change the expression into "by all possible means". Independence I can swallow, "by all means" is unswallowable. But I suppose we shall have to develop stomach strong enough to swallow any poison. I hope however that you will not allow yourself to be exploited beyond your wish and capacity.

The mill-owners, it has now become obviously clear, wanted to do a deal with the Congress. But I am not sorry for these abortive negotiations. They have cleared the atmosphere.

The expected letter from Romain Rolland was received on Sunday. He will not bear the burden I wanted him to do. So I

[1] This cable was sent in reply to the South African Indian Community's cable which read: "Inform health."

[2] In his long cable, Sastri had stated that the understanding arrived at the Settlement of 1914 would not be challenged and that the South African Ministers would not knowingly go back on previous promises. For the text of Sastri's cable *vide* Appendix II.

am not going this year. But you will read about this in the pages of *Young India*.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13203

313. LETTER TO KARNAD SADASHIVA RAO

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 24, 1928

MY DEAR SADASHIVA RAO,

I have your letter which I like very much. Let your daughters put themselves in touch with me. They have got to be brave, if they will not become worse than *purdanusheens*[2]. For those who will have the butterfly existence are, in my opinion, worse than *purdanusheens*. And those who will become real servants of the nation have to accept voluntarily poverty as a blessing and not a mere tolerable position.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SADASHIVA RAO KARNAD
KODAIBAIL
MANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13202

[1] *Vide* "To European Friends", 26-4-1928.
[2] Those who observe *purdah*

314. TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA[1]

SABARMATI,
April 25, 1928

SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR

YOUR TELEGRAM[2] WORTHY OF YOU. BEST SERVICE YOU CAN RENDER TODAY IS BUILD UP YOUR BODY SO AS TO SPARE ME ANOTHER SHOCK.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1590

315. TELEGRAM TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[*April 25, 1928*][3]

RETURN HERE WITH RADHA.

From a photostat: S.N. 14649

316. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[4]

April 25, 1928

ABANDONED EUROPEAN VISIT BEFORE MAGANLAL'S DEPARTURE. JAMNALALJI MUST GO PILGRIMAGE. LET ME DESERVE INHERITANCE LEFT BY MAGANLAL.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 14683

[1] This was written on the back of the addressee's telegram dated April 24, 1928, to which it was sent in reply.

[2] It read: "Maganbhai's place cannot be filled but if wanted am ready serve you there."

[3] This was written below the telegram to Satis Chandra Das Gupta; *vide* the preceding item. It appears both the telegrams were sent on the same day.

[4] This was sent in reply to the following telegram from C. Rajagopalachari: "Jamnalalji gone Patna. Returning tomorrow. You may resent suggestion but prayerfully press your going Europe now leaving scene of desolation in Jamnalalji's hands who must postpone pilgrimage remain Ashram. Wire reply Martaluminium."

317. MY BEST COMRADE GONE

He whom I had singled out as heir to my all is no more. Maganlal K. Gandhi, a grandson of an uncle of mine had been with me in my work since 1904. Maganlal's father has given all his boys to the cause. The deceased went early this month to Bengal with Seth Jamnalalji and others, contracted a high fever whilst he was on duty in Bihar and died under the protecting care of Brijkishore Prasad in Patna after an illness of nine days and after receiving all the devoted nursing that love and skill could give.

Maganlal Gandhi went with me to South Africa in 1903 in the hope of making a bit of fortune. But hardly had he been store-keeping for one year, when he responded to my sudden call to self-imposed poverty, joined the Phœnix settlement and never once faltered or failed after so joining me. If he had not dedicated himself to the country's service, his undoubted abilities and indefatigable industry would have made him a merchant prince. Put in a printing press he easily and quickly mastered the secrets of the art of printing. Though he had never before handled a tool or a machine, he found himself at home in the engine room, the machine room and at the compositor's desk. He was equally at ease with the Gujarati editing of the *Indian Opinion*. Since the Phœnix scheme included domestic farming, he became a good farmer. His was I think the best garden at the settlement. It may be of interest to note that the very first issue of *Young India* published in Ahmedabad bears the marks of his labours when they were much needed.

He had a sturdy constitution which he wore away in advancing the cause to which he had dedicated himself. He closely studied and followed my spiritual career and when I presented to my co-workers *brahmacharya* as a rule of life even for married men in search of Truth, he was the first to perceive the beauty and the necessity of the practice and, though it cost him to my knowledge a terrific struggle, he carried it through to success, taking his wife along with him by patient argument instead of imposing his views on her.

When satyagraha was born, he was in the forefront. He gave me the expression which I was striving to find to give its full meaning to what the South African struggle stood for, and which for want of a better term I allowed to be recognized by the very insufficient and even misleading term "passive resistance". I wish

I had the very beautiful letter he then wrote to me giving his reasons for suggesting the name सदाग्रह which I changed to सत्याग्रह.[1] He argued out the whole philosophy of the struggle step by step and brought the reader irresistibly to his chosen name. The letter I remember was incredibly short and to the point as all his communications always were.

During the struggle he was never weary of work, shirked no task and by his intrepidity he infected everyone around him with courage and hope. When everyone went to jail, when at Phœnix courting imprisonment was like a prize to be won at my instance, he stayed back in order to shoulder a much heavier task. He sent his wife to join the women's party.

On our return to India, it was he again who made it possible to found the Ashram in the austere manner in which it was founded. Here he was called to a newer and more difficult task. He proved equal to it. Untouchability was a very severe trial for him. Just for one brief moment his heart seemed to give way. But it was only for a second. He saw that love had no bounds and that it was necessary to live down the ways of 'untouchables', if only because the so-called higher castes were responsible for them.

The mechanical department of the Ashram was not a continuation of the Phœnix activity. Here we had to learn weaving, spinning, carding, and ginning. Again I turned to Maganlal. Though the conception was mine, his were the hands to reduce it to execution. He learnt weaving and all the other processes that cotton had to go through before it became khadi. He was a born mechanic.

When dairying was introduced in the Ashram he threw himself with zeal in the work, studied dairy literature, named every cow and became friends with every animal[2] on the settlement.

And when tannery was added, he was undaunted and had proposed to learn the principles of tanning as soon as he got a little breathing time. Apart from his scholastic training in the High School at Rajkot, he learnt the many things he knew so well in the school of hard experience. He gathered knowledge from village carpenters, village weavers, farmers, shepherds and such ordinary folk.

He was the Director of the Technical Department of the Spinners' Association, and during the recent floods in Gujarat, Vallabhbhai put him in charge of building the new township Vithalpur.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIX, pp. 92-3.
[2] The source has "cattle".

He was an exemplary father. He trained his children—one boy and two girls, all unmarried still—so as to make them fit for dedication to the country. His son Keshu is showing very great ability in mechanical engineering, all of which he has picked up like his father from seeing ordinary carpenters and smiths at work. His eldest daughter Radha, eighteen years old, recently shouldered a difficult and delicate mission to Bihar in the interest of women's freedom. Indeed he had a good grasp of what national education should be and often engaged the teachers in earnest and critical discussion over it.

Let not the reader imagine that he knew nothing of politics. He did, but he chose the path of silent, selfless constructive service.

He was my hands, my feet and my eyes. The world knows so little of how much my so-called greatness depends upon the incessant toil and drudgery of silent, devoted, able and pure workers, men as well as women. And among them all Maganlal was to me the greatest, the best and the purest.

As I am penning these lines, I hear the sobs of the widow bewailing the death of her dear husband. Little does she realize that I am more widowed than she. And but for a living faith in God, I should become a raving maniac for the loss of one who was dearer to me than my own sons, who never once deceived me or failed me, who was a personification of industry, who was the watchdog of the Ashram in all its aspects—material, moral and spiritual. His life is an inspiration for me, a standing demonstration of the efficacy and the supremacy of the moral law. In his own life he proved visibly for me not for a few days, not for a few months, but for twenty-four long years—now alas all too short—that service of the country, service of humanity and self-realization or knowledge of God are synonymous terms.

Maganlal is dead, but he lives in his works whose imprints he who runs may read on every particle of dust in the Ashram.

Young India, 26-4-1928

318. *A MORAL STRUGGLE*

> I am a husband aged 30. My wife is about the same age. We have five children, of which two are fortunately dead. I know the responsibility for the rest of our children. But I find it difficult, if not impossible, to discharge that responsibility. You have advised self-restraint. Well, I have practised it for the last three years, but that is very much against my partner's wish. She insists on what poor mortals call the joys of life. You from your superior height may call it a sin. But my partner does not see it in that light. Nor is she afraid of bearing more children to me. She has not the sense of responsibility that I flatter myself with the belief I have. My parents side more with my wife than with me and there are daily quarrels. The denial of satisfaction to my wife has made her so peevish and so irritable that she flares up on the slightest pretext. My problem now is how to solve the difficulty. The children I have are too many for me. I am too poor to support them. The wife seems utterly irreconcilable. If she does not have the satisfaction she demands, she may even go astray or go mad or commit suicide. I tell you, sometimes I feel that if the law of the land permitted it, I would shoot down all unwanted children as you would stray dogs. For the last three months I have gone without the second meal, without tiffin. I have business obligations which prevent me from fasting for days. I get no compassion from the wife because she considers I am a humbug. I know the literature on birth-control. It is temptingly written. And I have read your book on self-restraint. I find myself between the devil and the deep blue sea.

The foregoing is a faithful paraphrase of a heart-rending letter from a young man who has given me his full name and address and whom I have known for some years. Being afraid to give his name, he tells me he wrote twice before anonymously hoping that I would deal with his communications in the pages of *Young India*. I receive so many anonymous letters of this type that I hesitate to deal with them, even as I have considerable hesitation in dealing with this letter, although I know it to be perfectly genuine and know it to be a letter from a striving soul. The subject-matter is so delicate. But I see that I may not shirk an obvious

duty claiming as I do claim a fair amount of experience of such cases and more especially because my method has given relief in several similar cases.

The condition in India, so far as English-educated Indians are concerned, is doubly difficult. The gulf between husband and wife from the point of view of social attainments is almost too wide to be bridgeable. Some young men seem to think that they have solved it satisfactorily by simply throwing their wives overboard, although they know that in their caste there is no divorce possible and therefore no remarriage on the part of their wives possible. Yet others—and this is the far more numerous class—use their wives merely as vehicles of enjoyment without sharing their intellectual life with them. A very small number—but daily growing—has a quickened conscience and are faced with the moral difficulty such as my correspondent is faced with.

In my opinion, sexual union to be legitimate is permissible only when both the parties desire it. I do not recognize the right of either partner to compel satisfaction. And if my position is correct in the case in point, there is no more obligation on the part of the husband to yield to the wife's importunities. But this refusal at once throws a much greater and more exalted responsibility on the husband's shoulders. He will not look down upon his wife from his insolent height but will humbly recognize that what to him is not a necessity is to her a fundamental necessity. He will therefore treat her with the utmost gentleness and love and will have confidence in his own purity to transmute his partner's passion into energy of the highest type. He will therefore have to become her real friend, guide and physician. He will have to give her his fullest confidence and with inexhaustible patience explain to her the moral basis of his action, the true nature of the relationship that should subsist between husband and wife and the true meaning of marriage. He will find in the process that many things that were not clear to him before will be clear and he will draw his partner closer to him if his own restraint is truthful.

In the case in point I cannot help saying that the desire not to have more children is not enough reason for refusing satisfaction. It appears almost cowardly to reject one's wife's advances merely for fear of having to support children. A check upon an unlimited increase in the family is a good ground for both the parties jointly and individually putting a restraint upon sexual desires, but it is not sufficient warrant for one to refuse the privileges of a common bed to the other.

And why this impatience of children? Surely there is enough

scope for honest, hard-working and intelligent men to earn enough for a reasonable number of children. I admit that for one like my correspondent who is honestly trying to devote his whole time to the service of the country it is difficult to support a large and growing family and at the same time to serve a country, millions of whose children are semi-starved. I have often expressed the opinion in these pages that it is wrong to bring forth progeny in India so long as she is in bondage. But that is a very good reason for young men and young women to abstain from marriage, not a conclusive reason for one partner refusing sexual co-operation to the other. That co-operation can be lawfully refused, it is a duty to refuse, when the call for *brahmacharya* on the highest ground of pure religion is imperative. And when such a call has clearly come, it will have its healthy reaction upon the partner. Assuming, however, that it does not produce such reaction in time, it will still be a duty to adhere to restraint even at the risk of losing the life or the sanity of one's partner. The cause of *brahmacharya* demands sacrifices no less heroic than, say, the cause of Truth, or of one's country. In view of what I have said above, it is hardly necessary to state that artificial control of births is an immoral practice having no place in the conception of life that underlies my argument.

Young India, 26-4-1928

319. TO EUROPEAN FRIENDS

It is not without deep sorrow that I am now able to announce that the much-talked-of visit of mine to Europe is not to come off this year at any rate. To those in Austria, Holland, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Russia who had sent me kind invitations I can only say that their disappointment will be no greater than mine.

Somehow or other I dread a visit to Europe and America. Not that I distrust the peoples of these great Continents any more than I distrust my own, but I distrust myself. I have no desire to go to the West in search of health or for sightseeing. I have no desire to deliver public speeches. I detest being lionized. I wonder if I shall ever again have the health to stand the awful strain of public speaking and public demonstrations. If God ever sent me to the West, I should go there to penetrate the hearts of the masses, to have quiet talks with the youth of the West and have the privilege of meeting kindred spirits—lovers of peace at any price save that of Truth.

But I feel that I have as yet no message to deliver personally to the West. I believe my message to be universal but as yet I feel that I can best deliver it through my work in my own country. If I can show visible success in India, the delivery of the message becomes complete. If I came to the conclusion that India had no use for my message, I should not care to go elsewhere in search of listeners even though I still retained faith in it. If, therefore, I ventured out of India, I should do so because I have faith, though I cannot demonstrate it to the satisfaction of all, that the message is being surely received by India be it ever so slowly.

Thus whilst I was hesitatingly carrying on the correspondence with friends who had invited me, I saw that there was need for me to go to Europe, if only to see M. Romain Rolland. Owing to my distrust of myself over a general visit, I wanted to make my visit to that wise man of the West the primary cause of my journey to Europe. I therefore referred my difficulty to him and asked him in the frankest manner possible whether he would let me make my desire to meet him the primary cause of my visit to Europe. In reply I have a noble letter from him through Mirabai (Miss Slade) wherein he says that in the name of truth itself, he will not think of letting me go to Europe if a visit to him is to be the primary cause. He will not let me interrupt my labours here for the sake of our meeting. I read in his letter no false humility. I read in it a most genuine expression of truth. He knew when he wrote his reply that my desire to go to Europe to meet him was not for a mere courteous discussion but in the interest of the cause as dear to him as to me. But evidently he was too humble to bear the burden of calling me merely so that in furtherance of the common interest we might by mutual talks understand each other better. And I wanted him to shoulder that very burden, if he felt that truth required us to meet each other face to face. His reply therefore I have taken as a clear answer to my prayer. Apart from this visit, I felt within me no imperative call.

I have taken the public into my confidence as, against my wish, the fact that a visit to Europe during this season was under serious contemplation was published in the papers. I regret my decision but it seems to be the correct one. For whilst there is no urge within to go to Europe, there is an incessant call within for so much to do here. And now the death of my best comrade seems to keep me rooted to the Ashram.

But I may say to the many friends in Europe, that next year, if all is well and if they still will have me I shall try to undertake the postponed tour, under the strict limitations mentioned

by me and this I shall do whether I am ready to deliver my message or not. To see my numerous friends face to face will be no small privilege. But let me conclude this personal explanation by saying that if ever I am privileged to visit the West, I shall go there without changing my dress or habits, save in so far as the climate may require a change and self-imposed restrictions may permit. My outward form is I hope an expression of the inward.

Young India, 26-4-1928

320. *FOUR MONTHS' WORK*

The Vaishya Vidyashram, Sasavane, which started the constructive programme in right earnest last year has sent the following report[1] of work during four months ending *Chaitra*:

The foregoing resume of four months' increasing work is proof, if proof be still necessary, of what earnest effort can do. Where the wheel is reported to have failed, it was not the wheel that failed, but the wheel masters that failed because they had no faith. Schoolboys all the world over will respond to honest endeavour as the boys of the Sasavane Ashram have done. And from the figures that are published from time to time in these columns, anyone who cares can work out an arithmetical calculation showing how many children working, say, at least one hour per day at the wheel or the *takli* can spin enough yarn to clothe the whole nation. Oh for an imagination that will visualize the simple beauty of the wheel as a sure solvent of the economic distress of the country!

Young India, 26-4-1928

[1] Not reproduced here

321. CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[1]

SABARMATI,
April 26, 1928

RT. HON. SASTRI
MARITZBURG

I LEFT SOUTH AFRICA JULY 1914. ALL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN UNION GOVERNMENT AND ME COULD ONLY BE PRIOR MY DEPARTURE. PERSONALLY I COULD ASK FOR NO PROTECTION FRAUDULENT ENTRANTS BUT I SOUGHT AND RECEIVED PROTECTION FOR THOSE WHO HAD RECEIVED FRAUDULENT PAPERS BECAUSE AS I PROVED CONCLUSIVELY TO GOVERNMENT THAT THEIR OFFICERS WERE PARTY TO FRAUD AND THAT IT HAD BECOME DIFFICULT FOR EVEN HONEST MEN TO ENTER EXCEPT THROUGH BACKDOOR. YOU WILL SEE THEREFORE THERE IS DISTINCTION BETWEEN NATAL AND TRANSVAAL. FRAUD WAS NO DOUBT EVERYWHERE BUT NEVER IN SUCH WHOLESALE ALMOST OPEN MANNER AS IN TRANSVAAL AND INITIATED BY CORRUPT AND CORRUPTIBLE OFFICIALS. CLAIM NO FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF EVENTS AFTER MY DEPARTURE BUT ON GENERAL GROUNDS SINCE HABIBULLAH DEPUTATION OPENED NEW CHAPTER AND NEW VISION AND YOUR INSTALLATION EMPHASIZED AND SECURED STABILITY FOR NEW VISION THINGS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ON MERITS APART FROM PREVIOUS ASSURANCE DIRECT OR IMPLIED AND I FEEL ALL THOSE WHO ENTERED BEFORE SMUTS-GANDHI SETTLEMENT SHOULD HAVE FULL UNCONDITIONAL PROTECTION. AFTER ALL NUMBER CAN ONLY BE SMALL. HAVING GIVEN MY OPINION, I KNOW WHATEVER YOU DO WILL BE BEST AND HONOURABLE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES. I SHALL THEREFORE CONTINUE TENDER YOU ALL SUPPORT IN MY POWER ESPECIALLY IN YOUR DEALING WITH TRANSVAAL INDIANS. POSTING COPIES SIR MAHOMED TREATING CONFIDENTIALLY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11974

[1] This was sent in reply to Sastri's cable dated April 24, 1928, for the text of which *vide* Appendix II.

322. LETTER TO MAHOMED HABIBULLAH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

At the instance of our common friend Mr. Sastri, I send you herewith copy of cables that have passed between us. If there be[1] anything that is obscure in the position that I have taken up in my cable[2], please do not hesitate to ask for my explanation.

Though I am treating the whole of this telegraphic correspondence as strictly confidential, I am taking the liberty of sending copies to Mr. Andrews who knows everything about the matters concerning the position of our countrymen in South Africa.

Yours sincerely,

Encl.

HON. SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH
MEMBER, VICEROY'S COUNCIL
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 11977

323. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 26, 1928

I have your wire as also Gurudev's regarding Maganlal. It is perhaps the greatest trial of my life. But so far it appears that He who has subjected me to the ordeal is giving me the strength to go through it.

Now therefore to the business. Here are copies of cables exchanged between Sastri and myself. Please tell me if I have erred anywhere in my reply. And if you have got the papers referred to by Sastri in his cable of date after my departure from South

[1] The source has "are".
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

Africa after July 1914, please send them to me by registered post, especially the arrangements of 1915 and the recent bill.

C. F. ANDREWS
SANTINIKETAN

From a photostat: S.N. 11978

324. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 26, 1928

MY DEAR GANESAN,

Here is the preface[1] to the *History of Satyagraha in South Africa.*

Sjt. Desai is anxious that you should send a proof copy of the whole book, cover and all, as it is to be issued, and that this you should do before finishing the binding of all copies. He tells me that whoever looks after the printing in your office, is extremely careless and tells me sometimes important corrections made by him have not been carried out. He is anxious that such mistakes should be avoided for this book.

I have already telegraphed[2] to you that you may dedicate it to Maganlal Gandhi.

I have your letter about the advertisement. Much as I would like to advertise the publications, I am afraid I must not do so. But if I can do it in some other way, I would gladly adopt it. There is a way, perhaps, of taking Mr. Gregg's book off your hands. What is its cost price? Have you to pay anything to him?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13205

[1] This appears to be a slip for "foreword", for the text of which *vide* Vol. XXIX.

[2] The telegram is not available.

325. LETTER TO LORD IRWIN

SABARMATI,
April 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

At the interview in Delhi,[1] I promised to send you literature on khadi. I delayed sending the other pamphlets pending the publication of Mr. Gregg's volume. The other pamphlets represent the conclusions of two very well-known lawyers of Madras and Bihar.

You were good enough to say that when you had more leisure you would like to discuss the potency of khadi with me. If you have the leisure and still the inclination I am at your service.

I am,
Your Excellency's Friend,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. THE VICEROY
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 13596

326. LETTER TO J. B. PETIT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 26, 1928

DEAR MR. PETIT,

Whilst I was thinking of applying to you for a contribution for the expenses I am incurring in connection with the position of emigrants abroad, I received a long confidential cablegram from the Rt. Hon. Sastri to which I have been obliged to send a reply which has cost me Rs. 92-4-0. I do not know how prolonged this cable correspondence will be.

Whilst I have not Mr. Banarsidas with me, I have Pandit Totaram Sanadhya of Fiji, whom I dare say you know at least by repute. He is staying at the Ashram with his wife. He is draw-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 66 & 67-8 and Appendix V.

ing regularly Rs. 50, and he is allowed to incur extra expenses in connection with Fiji. All the expenses are kept and even accounts are published. I send you a copy herewith. Totaramji gives his spare time to teaching Hindi to the children in the Ashram. I would like the Association[1] to take this burden off my shoulders. If the Association would not care to bear the whole of the honorarium paid to Totaramji, it may halve with me. I send you also the account published by Totaramji of his work and issued for private circulation.

I am managing all the expenses connected with Ashram activities through the generosity of private friends, but I think that the expenses on account of activity in connection with the emigrants should be borne by the Association. I would therefore like you to consider this letter as if it was divided into two parts, the first with reference to the general expenses which in my books amount to roughly Rs. 5,000 to date. I could send you an extract from the Ashram ledger to show how the account is made up,—secondly, the expenses that I am now incurring regarding cables.

I shall be thankful for whatever the Committee of the Association considers a legitimate charge upon its funds.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 12859

327. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 27, 1928

MY DEAR JUGALKISHORE,

I was glad to receive your letter after such a long absence. I was wondering how you were faring at the P. M. V.[2]

My plan about the spinners' register is not half as ambitious as you think, though we cannot be too accurate nor too insistent on every worker coming in the closest touch with the spinners and yet, strange as it may appear though we represent spinners above everybody else, our workers are least in touch with them! But even if we do not come in such close contact with them and understand their lives as we understand our blood-sisters, we

[1] Imperial Citizenship Association
[2] Prem Mahavidyalaya

should at least know who and where they are, who are supplying us with their yarn. I have therefore said that we should trace the residence and names of every spinner whose yarn is received in the bazaar. Let us at least have that very rudimentary contact with them. This does not require the elaborate register mentioned by Satis Babu in his Manual. Even he is not able to enforce that register when he buys yarn at the Feni Bazaar. His register was and is in complete operation at his Atrai Dept. where he brought into being the spinners for the first time and kept touch with them. The largest quantity of yarn however received by him is at the Feni Bazaar. My register therefore is really a census register to be taken once for all or periodically. You see therefore you do not require the staff suggested by you for my simple measure.

Nobody has complained that the Gandhi Ashram will not give this list. I think I saw the argument advanced by Dhiren about the difficulty of tracing every spinner and I wrote combating that argument and showing a way out of the difficulty. The difficulty raised by Dhiren was not raised by him alone. It is a difficulty common to almost all and all are gradually getting over the difficulty.

I quite agree with you that in order to establish a living contact with the spinners, we must have women workers. Tell Shanti Devi I would like her to make a start.

Now about your scheme. I like the general idea. How far you can give effect to it there, I do not know. Because after all you want honest and able teachers who know their work. We have not too many as yet. But make out your scheme and send it to Jamnalalji unofficially in the first instance and see how it appeals to him.

Tell me how Bharat is doing there and how spinning is going on among the students.

By this time you know about Maganlal's death.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13204

328. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

April 27, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got both your letters. But even today there is not time enough for a full reply.

About Maganlal, what shall I write? I find it harder to bear this loss than to drink the cup of poison, but God has been most compassionate to me for I am calm.

What can we do about the boycott until the educated class is ready for it? One sees clearly enough now that it is useless to expect anything from the mills.

I am happy to hear that your health is improving; the happiness is of course tinged with self-interest. How could I help it?

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6156. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

329. LETTER TO FREDERIC AND FRANCISCA STANDENATH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 27, 1928

DEAR FRIENDS,

I have received all your letters including the last dated March 28th. I do not think I replied to the previous letter because in it you led me to expect another to tell me definitely what the passage would be and whether there would be any difficulty about your passports. In your recent letter whilst I understand all about the passports, there is no reference to the fare required. If you give me a definite idea, I would be able to approach friends and ask them to give me the amount.

So far as the assurance[1] from me is required, please produce

[1] The British Passport Control Officer for Austria had written to the addressees: "If, however, you are travelling to India at the express invitation of Mahatma Gandhi, it will only be necessary for you to submit his letters of invitation containing the statement that he is prepared to guarantee your expenses" (S.N. 14301).

this letter which gives you the assurance that throughout your stay with me, there will be no difficulty about your support, and that you would be coming to India at my invitation.

Now of course I do not want you to come before November or December, for the simple reason that this is the hot season and the heat continues more or less to the end of October.

You will see that I have abandoned the contemplated European visit for reasons fully given in *Young India*.[1] If I keep good health next year my coming to Europe ought to be a certainty. This may mean some change in your programme. But I do not want you to cancel your visit to India; for my desire is that you should see India with your own eyes and compare it with the India of your imagination. So, if you can at all come, I would like you to come irrespective of my proposed visit to Europe.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14302

330. *MESSAGE WITH AN AUTOGRAPH*[2]

SABARMATI,
April 27, 1928

God is Truth. The way to reach Truth is through the loving service of all that lives.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 14263

331. *LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA*

April 28, 1928

BHAISHRI KALYANJI,

You know I cannot attend the Conference. I am sorry I cannot, but just now I am helpless. The contribution of the Raniparaj men and women to the present movement is as much a matter of satisfaction to us as it is worthy of them. I regard this movement as one for developing fearlessness and for self-purification.

[1] *Vide* "To European Friends", 26-4-1928.

[2] This was sent to Byron N. Clark of the University of Vermont, Burlington, who was also the Secretary of the State Committee of the Y.M.C.A.

How can they who call themselves Raniparaj live in fear? In the sacrificial effort of self-purification, how could they afford to have vices like drinking, gambling and wearing foreign cloth? I trust, therefore, that the Raniparaj men and women will give increasing importance to the spinning-wheel, use more and more khadi and abstain from drinking and give up other vices.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2683

332. THE MEANING OF VOLUNTARY POVERTY[1]

Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi is the Secretary to the Managing Committee of the Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati. He had a university scholarship for post-graduate study in economics and ever since he gave up that scholarship to take part in the non-co-operation movement he has been in the Ashram. About a fortnight ago he had a summons from a first class magistrate to appear as witness in a criminal case. The policeman who came to serve the summons behaved most carelessly. He came shouting for Chhaganlal Joshi. This I heard and directed him to Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi. He gave him the summons. Sjt. Chhaganlal asked him to wait until he had read it, but "take it if you care" he said and went away.

Sjt. Chhaganlal read out the summons to me. He seemed to be knowing nothing about the case, and he did not know what to do. He had no time of his own, nor had he any money for railway fare. For all his time and money belonged to the Ashram, as every member is supposed to have given his all to the Ashram. The money in possession of the Ashram is all public money earmarked by the donors for the purpose for which it exists, and could certainly not be utilized for railway fare to respond to a summons. And so Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi was in the predicament of the pauper of Orissa, the only difference being that whilst the latter could receive and use for himself whatever others gave him the former could not use a donation except for the purpose of the Ashram. Herein lies the beauty as well as the restraint of voluntary poverty.

[1] The Gujarati original of which this is a translation by Mahadev Desai appeared in *Navajivan*, 29-4-1928.

What then would an Orissa pauper do if he was served with a summons as in this case? The policeman had not cared to explain to him the meaning of the summons, nor to pay him the railway fare to enable him to go to the court. In the present case the magistrate's court was some miles away from Ahmedabad near a station on the Prantij line. The Orissa pauper would be absolutely helpless and would not know what to do.

So Sjt. Chhaganlal decided to sit still and suffer the consequences. Otherwise his voluntary poverty would have no meaning, nor could he serve the poor if he did not behave like them.

This inevitable inability to respond to the summons was interpreted by the magistrate as contempt of court and he issued a warrant of arrest against Sjt. Joshi. The man serving the warrant said: "We will not arrest you, if you promise to attend on the due date."

"I would willingly promise," said Sjt. Joshi, "provided I got the railway fare and allowance."

The man had no authority to make the payment and so he produced Sjt. Joshi before a first class magistrate in Ahmedabad. The latter had no time to go into the case. Sjt. Joshi explained how he failed to obey the summons, but the magistrate trained in the traditions of the bureaucracy said:

"I am afraid I can do nothing. I am prepared to release you on bail, and you may if you like agitate later on."

If he was prepared to give bail without getting the fare and the allowance, why should he not have obeyed the original summons?

The sun was blazing overhead when Sjt. Joshi was ordered to proceed to the police station. He refused any longer to walk and the policemen in charge were compelled to hire a carriage. Ultimately Sjt. Joshi was taken to Talod under a full police escort and produced before the magistrate. The moment the magistrate saw Sjt. Joshi he realized his mistake, paid him the fare and allowance and released him on parole.

It is reported that this simple act of courage had a very good effect on the people of Talod who were greatly delighted.

Those who have accepted voluntary poverty can by acting in the manner of Chhaganlal Joshi easily hasten the end of the injustice and tyranny that seems today to be the lot of the poor.

The thoughtless discourtesy of the magistrate in the case was remarkable. He issued the summons without the least inquiry and having done so did nothing to provide the man summoned with the wherewithal to obey the summons. I am told that it is not the

practice to pay the witnesses railway fare and allowance in advance. If that is the case, it means terrible hardship for the poor. The issue of warrant in the case betrayed the magistrate's criminal negligence. He had no evidence of the proper service of the summons.

He did not care to inquire whether Sjt. Joshi had at all received the summons. One can only imagine what terrible injustice lies hidden in this Government's department of 'justice'.

It is difficult to say what would have happened in Talod had Sjt. Chhaganlal been the dumb pauper of Orissa. What a shower of abuse he might have received and how fiercely the magistrate might have bullied him! The man who had been so much sinned against might have been branded as a sinner.

Though the Government is responsible for this reckless and insolent behaviour towards the poor, one cannot help observing that the Indian officials who behave in this fashion have absolutely no excuse to do so. It is possible that this high-handedness was there even in pre-British days. But a wrong does not become right if it can be proved to be pre-British. And if even Indian officials do not mend their ways, those who have accepted voluntary poverty ought to correct them through satyagraha.

Young India, 3-5-1928

333. SOUL OF THE ASHRAM

When Shri Vallabhbhai received the news of Maganlal Gandhi's death, he wired: "The soul of the Ashram has departed." There was no exaggeration in this. I cannot imagine the existence of Satyagraha Ashram without Maganlal. Many of my activities were started because I knew that he was there. If ever there was a person with whom I identified myself, it was Maganlal. We often have to consider whether certain matters will hurt another person, even if that person be one's own son or wife. I never had to entertain such fear with regard to Maganlal. I never hesitated to set him the most difficult tasks. I very often put him in embarrassing situations and he silently bore with them. He regarded no work as too mean.

If I were fit to be anyone's guru, I would have proclaimed him my first disciple.

In all my life I gave only one person the freedom to regard me as his guru and I had my fill of it. The fault was not his, as I could see; only I had imperfections. Anyone who becomes a

guru should possess the power of conferring on the pupil the capacity to carry out whatever task is assigned to him. I had not that power and still do not have it.

But if Maganlal was not a disciple, he was certainly a servant. I am convinced that no master could possibly find a servant better or more loyal than Maganlal. This may be a conjecture, but I can assert from my experience that I have not found another servant like him. It has been my good fortune always to have found co-workers, or servants if you like, who were faithful, virtuous, intelligent and industrious. Still, Maganlal was the best of all these co-workers and servants.

The three streams of knowledge, devotion and action continuously flowed within Maganlal and, by offering his knowledge and his devotion in the *yajna* of action, he demonstrated before everyone their true form. And because in this way each action of his was full of awareness, knowledge and faith, his life attained the very summit of sannyasa. Maganlal had renounced his all. I never saw an iota of self-interest in any of his actions. He showed—not once, not for a short time but time after time for twenty-four years incessantly—that true sannyasa lay in selfless action or action without desire for reward.

Maganlal's father entrusted all his four sons to me one after another for serving the country. Maganlal was entrusted to me in 1903. He accompanied me to South Africa to earn a living. In 1904, I invited him along with other friends to embrace poverty in order to serve the country. He heard me calmly and embraced poverty. From that time on until his death, his life was an uninterrupted flow.

With each day I realize more and more that my mahatmaship, which is a mere adornment, depends on others. I have shone with the glory borrowed from my innumerable co-workers. However, no one has done more to add to this glory than Maganlal. He co-operated with me fully and with intelligence in all my activities—physical or spiritual. I see no better instance than Maganlal of one who made a tremendous effort to act as he believed. Maganlal was awake all the twenty-four hours establishing unity of thought and action. He used up all his energy in this.

If I have not exaggerated, consciously or unconsciously, in this sketch, one can say that a country in which dharma can be so embodied must triumph and so must its dharma. Hence I wish that every servant of the country should study Maganlal's life and if it commends itself to him imitate it with determination. What was possible for Maganlal is possible for every

man who makes the effort. Maganlal could become a true leader because he was a true soldier and I find those who could put up with his fire weeping around me now.

This country, as also the world, is in need of true soldiers. Service of the country, service of the world, self-realization, vision of God—these are not separate things but different aspects of the same thing. Maganlal realized the truth of this in his own life and made others do so. Those who are curious can study his life and find this out.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-4-1928

334. LETTER TO KUNVERJI KHETSHI PAREKH

Sunday [April 29, 1928][1]

CHI. KUNVERJI,

I have your letter. I have never felt that you have taken up khadi work for the sake of money, and my question arose only from yours. Will you always be able to live contented doing khadi work? You certainly know there is no financial gain in this. It provides plain bread. I assume from your letter that you will not be able to live in the Ashram if a rule is adopted that only *brahmacharis* can do so. Even in that case I believe there will be no problem in employing you in khadi work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9711

335. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 29, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I have told you the way I want you to assist me. You offer to come to the Ashram, and yet, at the end of your letter, you are obliged to say, "I am afraid for a long

[1] From the postmark

time, I won't be physically fit." No, your *sadhana* is to make yourself physically fit and, therefore, it is better for you to be where you are, and convalesce. I would even suggest your going to Giridih and be at the side of Nikhil.

The idea of burying yourself in a village in order to develop it makes a forcible appeal to me. There, perhaps, you can rest your limbs better than anywhere else, if you have a clean water supply and if you will use a mosquito-net.

I have heard that you do not use milk. If this is true, it is bad. You won't serve the cause by wearing away the body without cause.

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1591

336. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 29, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of condolence. God's will be done.

As to the other part of your letter, what can I do in Bombay? I have no confidence in my ability to assist. My solution of the problem is so different from what is generally expected. I am more than ever convinced that the communal problem should be solved outside of legislation and if, in order to reach that state, there has to be a civil war, so be it. Who will listen to a proposal so mad as this?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
KODAIKANAL

From a photostat: S.N. 13207

337. *LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 29, 1928

DEAR LALAJI,

I have your characteristic letter. I am glad you had an ocular demonstration of what form untouchability takes in the south. I wish you could have been there longer to see the unapproachables and the invisibles face to face, and to talk to them.

And in this connection let me tell you what an important part khadi is playing in reaching even the unapproachables and invisibles, because it is khadi that makes it possible to establish contacts which before were impossible or unthinkable. However this is by the way and written not to influence you in favour of khadi through a side issue.

I am therefore glad that you are making a serious study of the subject. And I am glad, too, that you are determined not to come to any hasty decision. Whatever conclusions you may ultimately form, I would like you to feel about them as you feel about untouchability. No argument against untouchability from the so-called *sanatana* quarters or any quarter could possibly dislodge you from the position you hold. I would like you therefore to make a thorough study of the problem before coming to any conclusion whatsoever.

I want you for khadi. I know what a gain it would be. But I do not want you as a patron on whose certificate I may trade. I want you as a fellow-worker who will not be dislodged from his position and who would be working for the cause of khadi to the best of his ability. For the present, therefore, I would like you, after your study, to discuss the subject with me if you have any doubts before you commit yourself. By all means carry on correspondence with me or those who may be hostile to khadi, but I would like you to promise that you will not commit yourself before discussing with me the criticism that may appear to you to be convincing and unanswerable. Let me assure you that there are in the khadi movement people who have made a thorough study of the subject and who will leave khadi without a moment's hesitation if they found that the premises on which they proceeded were insupportable.

Yes, indeed, Maganlal's death is the heaviest blow I could have received. But in the battle for freedom, we have little time to shed tears over the departure of the dearest.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13597

338. LETTER TO RAVISHANKER MAHARAJ

Silence Day, April 30, 1928

BHAISHRI RAVISHANKER,

You are fortunate. You are satisfied with whatever food you get, cold and heat make no difference to you, you cover yourself if you get some rags and now you are the first lucky one to go to jail. If God would permit an interchange and if you are generous, I would surely change places with you. Victory to you and the country!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2935. Courtesy: Ravishanker Maharaj

339. LETTER TO TARABEHN JASWANI

SABARMATI,
Monday [April 30, 1928][1]

CHI. TARA,

I have your letter. When I go for my daily walk, I think of you. Take great care of your health. Remain firm in all your vows. Write to me from time to time.

You must have heard about Maganlal. I hope you get *Navajivan* regularly.

Blessings to Chi. Divali.

I shall read your questions now and write to you about them in my next letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. TARABEHN DHIRAJLAL JASWANI
C/o BHAI MOHANLAL KHANDERIA
WANKANER

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8780

[1] From the postmark

340. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 1, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I hope to write about mill-cloth in the next issue of *Young India.*[1] I am writing to Jairamdas now.[2]

I have now to try to deserve the legacy left by Maganlal.

You will please tell me in good time whether you would want me to send Jaisukhlal after Mathuradas leaves. Having taken up flood relief work, I take it you will not in any way put it in jeopardy by taking an active part in any other thing however attractive it may be. Remember the *Bhagavad Gita* verse:

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥[3]

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 886; also S.N. 13212

341. LETTER TO S. RAMANATHAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 1, 1928

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

I have your letter about . . .[4]. I see your law is at fault. If you have no writing from . . . , I am sure that we cannot pay ourselves for any loss incurred owing to the negligence or fraud of workers, even though the latter may have furnished cash security. Do you not see that it is a dangerous doctrine? If such

[1] *Vide* "Mill-cloth *v.* Khadi", 10-5-1928.
[2] This letter is not available.
[3] III. 35. Better one's own duty, bereft of merit, than another's well-performed; better is death in the discharge of one's duty; another's duty is fraught with danger.
[4] Name omitted

were the law, employees would be at the mercy of employers who would be judges and executioners combined. What may appear to an employer to be negligence or fraud, may not honestly appear to be that to an employee and may not be such even in law. A well-ordered society, therefore, requires unequivocal written documents, if securities furnished by employees are to be appropriated for patent negligence or fraud. Whatever, therefore, you do about . . . I suggest that you should take a written document from all the employees from whom you have taken securities.

About . . . , I suggest that you state the facts that you may have in your possession in proof of his dishonesty, tell him that you hold the security as guarantee for the damage sustained in accordance with the custom of the association and in accordance with the verbal agreement between him and yourself and offer to take him to a court of law if he wishes or to submit it to arbitrators, one to be appointed by him and one by us.

I promised to write to . . . after I had heard from you. I will await your answer before writing to him.[1]

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. S. RAMANATHAN
SECRETARY,
A. I. S. A., TAMILNAD
ERODE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13593

[1] A copy of this letter was sent to Secretary, A.I.S.A., Ahmedabad, along with Ramanathan's letter.

342. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 1, 1928

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

Your letter flatters me,[1] but I must not succumb to my pride. Apart from the fact that as a non-co-operator I may have nothing to do with the University that is in any way connected with Government, I do not consider myself to be a fit and proper person to deliver Kamala lectures[2]. I do not possess the literary attainment which Sir Ashutosh undoubtedly contemplated for the lecturers.

You are asking me to shoulder a responsibility which my shoulders cannot bear. I am keeping fairly fit. I am biding my time and you will find me leading the country in the field of politics when the country is ready. I have no false modesty about me. I am undoubtedly a politician in my own way, and I have a scheme for the country's freedom. But my time is not yet and may never come to me in this life. If it does not, I shall not shed a single tear. We are all in the hands of God. I therefore await His guidance.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13210 a

343. SPEECH AT OPENING OF CRECHE, AHMEDABAD[3]

May 1, 1928

Perhaps it is quite appropriate that this creche is being opened by one who calls himself a labourer, though let me confess to you that it was not without some hesitation that I accepted the invitation when it was brought to me by Sheth Kasturbhai, not

[1] Dr. Roy had requested Gandhiji to deliver lectures at the Calcutta University. The earlier lecturers were Annie Besant, Srinivasa Sastri and Sarojini Naidu.

[2] Instituted by Ashutosh Mukherjee

[3] Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Agent, Raipur Manufacturing Company, had requested Gandhiji to perform the opening ceremony.

because I did not like the object, but because I was so preoccupied, and nothing would have pleased me better than that you should have got this function performed by someone more deserving than myself preferably a mill-owner. But my regard for Sheth Kasturbhai prevailed and I had to yield.

When I established my Ashram in Ahmedabad the consideration which weighed with me was not merely that it was the capital of Gujarat, nor that it was a busy commercial centre but that it was a great centre of textile industry and I felt that I could reasonably count on the help of the mill-agents and be able to render some service to the city. Today I am glad to be able to say that these expectations of mine have not been altogether unfulfilled. Though I have a recollection of some bitter experiences I have also a number of sweet recollections of my relations with the mill-owners. I have not yet given up hope of Ahmedabad. I still expect great things of it. It has much to accomplish yet, and among other things, speaking as a labourer myself, and as one who has tried to enter into the innermost feelings of the working class I say that Ahmedabad has much to do yet towards the amelioration of the condition of the labouring class.

My connection with the labour of this place is not of yesterday. It is as old as my first coming to this city, and so I make bold to tell you that you have not yet done your part towards your labouring population. In some cases the labourers have not been provided with even the primary amenities of life. There are exceptions, however. Some mill-owners have made some effort in the direction, and the present one is an instance in point.

The sentiments about the welfare of the mill-hands that Sheth Kasturbhai has just now uttered before you reflect credit on him and the city of Ahmedabad. Sheth Kasturbhai was delighted with Port Sunlight, and rightly. But Port Sunlight cannot be our ideal. Messrs Lever Bros. represent to my mind the minimum standard that an employer must do for his employees. To do less would be a discredit. But we cannot afford to rest content with that. We must think in terms of our own civilization, and if the picture presented to us in the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* of the social conditions prevailing in the ancient times be correct, our ideal would seem to go much farther than Port Sunlight. I have read a lot of literature about Port Sunlight, and I am an ardent admirer of their welfare work, but I maintain that ours is a higher ideal. In the West there is still a watertight division between the employer and the employees. I know it is impertinent to talk of our ideal, while the curse of untouchability still stalks

through the land. But I should be untrue to myself and be failing in my duty to you if I did not place before you what I regard as the highest ideal. The relation between mill-agents and mill-hands ought to be one of father and children or as between blood-brothers. I have often heard the mill-owners of Ahmedabad refer to themselves as 'masters' and their employees as their servants. Such loose talk should be out of fashion in a place like Ahmedabad which prides itself on its love of religion and love of ahimsa. For that attitude is a negation of ahimsa, inasmuch as our ideal demands that all our power, all our wealth and all our brains should be devoted solely to the welfare of those who through their own ignorance and our false notions of things are styled labourers or 'servants'. What I expect of you therefore is that you should hold all your riches as a trust to be used solely in the interests of those who sweat for you, and to whose industry and labour you owe all your position and prosperity. I want you to make your labourers co-partners of your wealth. I do not mean to suggest that unless you legally bind yourselves to do all that, there should be a labour insurrection. The only sanction that I can think of in this connection is of mutual love and regard as between father and son, not of law. If only you make it a rule to respect these mutual obligations of love, there would be an end to all labour disputes, the workers would no longer feel the need for organizing themselves into unions. Under the ideal contemplated by me, there would be nothing left for our Anasuyabehns and Shankerlals to do; their occupation would be gone. But that cannot happen until there is a single mill-hand who does not regard the mill in which he works as his own, who complains of sweating and overwork, and who therefore nurses in his breast nothing but ill will towards his employers.

And where is the difficulty?

You have told us and it is recognized everywhere that the mill-owners stand only to gain by doing all this. Messrs Lever Bros. lost nothing by doing all that they did. They felt so encouraged that they even tried to create another Port Sunlight in Natal. As our experience gradually broadens we are beginning to see more and more clearly that the more we give to our workers the more we stand to gain. From the moment your men come to realize that the mills are theirs, no less than yours, they will begin to feel towards you as blood-brothers, there would be no question of their acting against the common interest and the need for having a heavy supervisory establishment over them.

You have given me credit for keeping the city of Ahmedabad free from a labour upheaval such as Bombay is at present passing through. Well, I cannot quite disclaim that credit, for does anyone among you for a moment doubt that things would have been otherwise here, but for the work that Shrimati Anasuyabehn and Sjt. Shankerlal have been doing? It is true perhaps that you the mill-owners of Ahmedabad are more tactful than the Bombay mill-owners. In case of an upheaval you do not employ hooligans to crush your men as some employers in the West do, and I fancy that you have deliberately abjured that weapon of suppressing the aspirations of labour. My critics tell me that this is all moonshine, and that you would not hesitate to resort to such means, if you could. But I believe that they are mistaken and I want you to prove by your conduct that they are mistaken. I hope you will help to bring near the time when the sort of work that Sjt. Banker and Shrimati Anasuyabehn are doing would be rendered needless, and pending that consummation give them all the help, all the encouragement that they need in their work.

Now perhaps you understand why I have dared to appropriate a little credit for the peace that prevails here today. It belongs not to me but to Shrimati Anasuyabehn and Sjt. Shankerlal Banker. They live, move and have their being among the labourers, which I am unable to do. If you aid the efforts of these friends you will find there will not be much need left for erecting creches like this one or for providing medical relief. I do not wish to detract from the merit of these efforts of yours, but I ask you whether any well-to-do man would care to send his children to a creche like this. Our endeavour should be to bring about a state of things under which there would be no occasion for a mill-hand's baby to be torn from its mother, and when a factory hand's child would receive the same opportunities for education that our own children have.

Young India, 10-5-1928

344. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 2, 1928

MY DEAR BHRRR,

You were right in your surmise about absence of any letter from me.[1] God is great and good and even merciful.

I am following the events in Bardoli. Every word of what you say is well deserved by Vallabhbhai. Don't flatter yourself with the belief that if the Government invite you as their guest, they will house you at Sabarmati. The Ashram is too near for the Sabarmati guest house.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9563

345. NECESSITY OF DISCIPLINE

Some workers in the Khadi Service write:[3]

Here there is an obvious confusion of ideals. Distorted notions of superiority and inferiority have given rise to indiscipline in almost all the national organizations. Many people think that to abolish distinctions of rank means passport to anarchy and licence. Whereas the meaning of abolition of distinctions should be perfect discipline,—perfect because of voluntary obedience to the laws of the organization to which we may belong, i.e., the laws of our being. For man is himself a wonderful organization and what applies to him applies to the social or political organizations of which he may be a member. And even as though the different members of the body are not inferior to any, they are voluntarily subject

[1] Following the death of Maganlal Gandhi, Gandhiji had not sent any letter to the addressee.

[2] Abbas Tyabji who was at the time assisting Vallabhbhai Patel in the Bardoli struggle had, while giving an account of the arrest and trial of Ravishanker, mentioned the possibility of his own arrest.

[3] The letter is not reproduced here. The workers had complained that though they were required to attend Khadi Office punctually the Secretary himself was not punctual. They had asked: ". . . Why should this inferiority and superiority prevail among workers in the same field?"

to the control of the mind, whilst the body is in a healthy state, so have the members of an organization, whilst none is superior or inferior to any other, to be voluntarily subject to the mind of the organization which is the head. An organization which has no directing mind or which has no members co-operating with the mind suffers from paralysis and is in a dying condition.

The correspondents who have signed the letter I have reproduced do not realize that if they do not accept the elementary discipline involved in giving regular attendance, that Khadi Office of which they are members cannot work profitably to its purpose, i.e., service of *Daridranarayana*. Let them realize that the voluntary discipline of a khadi office should be much stricter than the compulsory discipline of a Government office. If the chief of the Khadi Office concerned does not attend always in time, it is highly likely that he is engaged in khadi work even when he is not at his office. For whilst the staff has fairly regular hours the chief has no hours of recreation. If he is honest and realizes the responsibilities of his high office, he has to work day and night in order to make khadi what it should be. It is one thing to come into a going concern, totally another to enter a newly-formed organization intended to be the largest of its kind in the world. Such an organization requires the vigilant, intelligent and honest watch not of one worker but of thousands. These workers have to come into being by belonging to the existing organizations and imposing on themselves the hardest discipline of which they may be capable.

Young India, 3-5-1928

346. THANKS

Friends from far and near have overwhelmed me with their kind messages in what has been to me the greatest trial of my life. It was foolish of me but it is nevertheless true that I had never contemplated Maganlal Gandhi's death before mine. The cables, telegrams and letters I have received from individuals, associations and Congress Committees have been a great solace to me. The senders will forgive me for not making personal acknowledgments. I assure them all that I shall try to become worthy of the affection they have bestowed upon me and of the silent devotion with which Maganlal Gandhi served the ideals he held in common with me.

M. K. G.

Young India, 3-5-1928

347. LETTER TO VIRUMAL HEGRAJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You do not want me to answer your questions as a lawyer; for my law may not be accepted. But as a layman, it seems to me that neither the Bava nor his widow nor the Brahmin in the other case have any right to the properties mentioned by you and held under the circumstances described by you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. VIRUMAL HEGRAJ
"SINDHI" OFFICE
SUKKUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13214

348. LETTER TO P. T. PILLAY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I do not consider the burning of *Manusmriti* to be on a par with the burning of foreign cloth. Burning of foreign cloth is like burning a thing that is injurious; but the burning of *Manusmriti* is at best like the burning of an advertisement for foreign cloth showing nothing but childish rage. Moreover, I do not regard *Manusmriti* as an evil. It contains much that is admirable, but in its present form it undoubtedly contains many things that are bad and these appear to be interpolations. Whilst a reformer would therefore treasure all excellent things in that ancient code, he would expurgate all that is injurious or of doubtful value.

If we are to attain swaraj by effort from within, I do consider removal of untouchability like achieving Hindu-Muslim unity as a condition precedent to the attainment of swaraj. But when the English rulers resist the demand for swaraj because we have not

attained fully removal of untouchability, I rgeard their resistance as hypocritical and illegitimate.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. TIRUKOOTASUNDARAM PILLAY
SINDUPPONDURAI
TINNEVELLY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13211

349. LETTER TO L. CRANNA

[*May 4, 1928*][1]

The reference to me in the last paragraph of your letter, I am grieved to say, is a fabrication from beginning to end.[2] I should be sorry to learn that the Dean of Bristol had indeed spoken as reported.

L. CRANNA, ESQ.
C/o Y.M.C.A.
SINGAPORE

From a photostat: S.N. 14345

[1] This was an enclosure to "Letter to L. Cranna", 13-7-1928; *vide* Vol. XXXVII. The addressee in his letter of May 18 had referred to it as of this date.

[2] Cranna had earlier sent Gandhiji a letter addressed to "Sustaining Members" enclosing a cutting from *Central Christian Advocate*, which read:

" 'A friend of mine,' said the Dean of Bristol, lately, 'told me recently a striking story of Mr. Gandhi. After one of his foreign tours as a champion of Indian interests, he was received by a tremendous meeting of people in Calcutta. He was the popular hero of the day and the place was crowded with, I think, 15,000 Bengalees who had come to welcome him. My friend was the one Englishman present. For three hours the orators of Bengal spoke in praise of themselves and Mr. Gandhi: and then came the great moment, when Mr. Gandhi rose and all this vast assembly settled themselves on their haunches waiting for their great orator to speak. His speech consisted of one sentence, and one sentence only: 'The man to whom I owe most and to whom all India owes most is a man who never set his foot in India—and that was Christ.' And then he sat down.' "

Cranna had asked: "Has this your confirmation?"

350. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

Vaisakha 15, May 4, 1928

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I shall see Punjabhai with regard to Raichandbhai's writings. Yes, do translate Mr. Gregg's book[1] into Hindi. There is little hope of getting any funds from Charkha Sangh in this connection. The article on khadi in C.P. will appear in *Navajivan*. I shall try to give a synopsis in *Young India*.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HARIBHAU
KHADI KARYALAYA
AJMER

From Hindi: C.W. 6059. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

351. INDULGENCE IN THE NAME OF DEVOTION

Thanks to Shri Jaydayalji Goenka, an attempt is nowadays being made to create a spirit of devotion in the Marwari society. With this object in view *bhajan* groups have been formed and *bhajan bhavans*[3] are also being run. One such *bhavan* called Govind Bhavan has been started in Calcutta. At Shri Jaydayalji's instance, a certain gentleman was put in charge of it. He indulged in debauchery in the name of devotion. He accepted puja from women; women regarded him as God and worshipped him; he gave them his left-overs to eat and debauched them. The simple-hearted women believed that having physical relations with one who had attained self-realization could not be regarded as sinful.

Although the incident is painful, it does not surprise me. All around us we find people who gratify their lust under the guise of devotion. And so long as the essence of devotion is not understood, is it surprising that robberies are committed in the name of

[1] *Economics of Khaddar*

[2] An article by Mahadev Desai appeared in *Hindi Navajivan*, 10-5-1928, and a summary by Haribhau Upadhyaya in *Young India*, 9-8-1928, under the title "Khadi in Central India".

[3] Institutions for *bhajans*

religion? It would be surprising if false devotees did not bring evil.

I am a votary of Ramanama and the *dwadashamantra* but my worship is not blind. For anyone who is truthful, Ramanama is like a ship. But I do not believe that anyone who repeats Ramanama hypocritically is saved by it. Instances are cited of Ajamil and others; they are poetical creations and even there there is a hidden meaning. Purity of sentiments has been attributed to them. Anyone believing that Ramanama would calm his passions is rewarded by repeating it and is saved. The hypocrite repeating Ramanama in pursuit of his passions is not saved but is doomed—

"A person will meet the fate conforming with his sentiment."

Devotees should bear two things in mind:

One, that devotion does not merely consist in repeating the name but also in sacrificial activity that must constantly go with it. There is a belief nowadays that worldly activities have no connection with dharma or devotion. This is untrue. The truth is that all activities in this world are related to dharma or *adharma*. The carpenter who practises his trade merely in order to earn a living, steals wood and spoils his work is guilty of *adharma*. Another practises his trade for the good of others, say, for making a bed for a sick person, does not commit any theft and works to the best of his abilities and repeats Ramanama while working. This constitutes work done in pursuit of dharma. This carpenter is a true devotee of Rama. A third carpenter, whether deliberately or through ignorance, gives up his trade in order to repeat Ramanama, begs for himself and his children, and if asked to make something for a sick person says: "For me there is only Rama. I would know no sick man and no happy man." This carpenter is a degraded creature fallen into the well of ignorance.

Man does not pray to God through speech alone but through thought, word and deed. If any one of these three aspects is missing, there is no devotion. A fusion of these three is like a chemical compound. In the case of the latter, if a single ingredient is not present in its proper proportion, the expected result does not follow. The devotees of today appear to think that the limits of devotion are reached in the use of beautiful language and hence ceasing to be devotees become mere rakes and corrupt others too.

In the second place, how and where should man, who has a physical form, worship God? He is omnipresent. Hence the best and most understandable place where He can be worshipped is a living creature. The service of the distressed, the crippled and the helpless among living things constitutes worship of God. The

repetition of Ramanama is also meant to help us learn to do so. If Ramanama does not thus result in service, it is both futile and a sort of bondage, as it proved in the case of the man in Govind Bhavan. Let this instance serve as a warning to all devotees.

Now a few words to the women. The man who makes others worship him necessarily becomes depraved; but why should the women become so? If they must worship human beings, why should they not worship an ideal woman? Moreover, why worship any living being? The saying of the learned Solon is worthy of being carved in one's heart—"No man can be called good while he is alive."[1] Those who were good one day have become wicked the following day. Moreover, we cannot even spot hypocrites. Hence God alone should be worshipped. If a human being has to be worshipped he should be worshipped only after his death. This is so because after his death we worship only his virtues, not his physical form. It is necessary that men repeatedly, insistently and courteously point this out to our gullible sisters.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-5-1928

352. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

Silence Day, May 7, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

What shall I write to you this time? There has been no change at all in my routine work, nor do I think constantly about any particular matter, and yet I feel that a change has come over my life these days. Imperceptibly and involuntarily, a struggle is going on within me. Maganlal's soul rules over my heart. The thought of his death fills me with a kind of happiness. Ba, I and all of us had always believed that I would die first. Had it happened so, I feel, as I see the unmanageable growth of our activities, that he would have been crushed by their weight. We are all thinking how to limit them. I do not know if any of us will be able to cope with the work. But I put my trust in God. He who has steered the ship so far will steer it in future too. No matter if Maganlal

[1] The saying attributed to Solon, however, is: "Call no man happy till he be dead."

has died or others die. All of us will die but the truth which we have thought and lived will never die.

I don't think I can write to the others today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4737

353. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 7, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. I hope you are properly fixed up now. Anyway you will insist on finding for yourself the comfort your health may demand.

I have carefully gone through the revised translation. It is very good.

You should occasionally go to Vallabhbhai's meetings if he desires.

Love.

BAPU

PS.

Surendra took charge of the tannery yesterday.

SHRI MIRABEHN
SWARAJ ASHRAM
BARDOLI
Via SURAT

From the original: C.W. 5301. Courtesy: Mirabehn

354. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

May 7, 1928

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter. Hip-baths should not be given up. Yes, do go to Almora. Stick to the same diet as in Delhi, but there is no harm in eating more if you have the appetite.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2357

355. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 8, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter. As I have no power in me to resist you, I have sent you just now a wire[1] saying I would be in Bombay as desired by you. But as I have said in my wire, I have really no confidence in myself to render active service at the present moment. My views are like that of a mad man. Here, Maganlal's death has cast upon me a tremendous burden; but it is a task which pleases me and which, if I can consolidate, is likely to be of great service to the country if not now certainly in the near future. And to tear myself away from that work even for a day in the vain hope of doing something in Bombay is not a pleasant contemplation. But unless you countermand your orders, you will find me in Bombay on 16th.[2]

If none of these big political bodies which you mention want a constitution for swaraj, what can we do? We won't be able to force the situation; for we have not the ability to carry things by storm.

I have no faith in a legislative solution of the communal question. And who will listen to my drastic views on almost every matter? But apart from my views, will it be good statesmanship to have the meeting in Bombay unless we can be sure of a representative attendance? It might be as well to ascertain beforehand whether those whom we would like to attend the meeting would do so or not, and, in the event of negative replies, to convene a meeting of the Working Committee only to decide upon the future programme. I throw out this suggestion for what it is worth. As I

[1] This is not available.

[2] In his letter of May 3, Motilal Nehru had written: "Dr. Ansari has instructed Jawahar to call a meeting of the Working Committee on the 16th May. . . . It will be for the Working Committee to go thoroughly into the various aspects of the situation and fully make up its mind as to what is in the best interest of the country to do at the present moment. When we have so made up our minds we can press our views on the all-Parties or some-Parties Conference whatever it is going to be with confidence born of conviction. . . . I simply want you to be in Bombay, while these meetings are being held, to be accessible to those who might wish to consult you."

am not *au fait* with the full situation, I know that my opinion should not carry much weight. You must be the sole judge.

Of mills when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAVAN
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13218

356. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*May 9, 1928*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. Never mind the cold bath if you took all the precautions after. The bath in the circumstances you mentioned was almost inevitable. In future it is better to remember that a sponge in such circumstances is better. Tell Pyarelal to write to me. Chhotelal has taken up his work.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5302. Courtesy: Mirabehn

357. MILL-CLOTH v. *KHADI*

A friend writes in effect:

> Several Congressmen are nowadays advocating the use of indigenous mill-cloth side by side with khadi. There is a movement to give mill-cloth a place in Congress khadi shops. Will you not give your clear opinion on this point? I know what it is but all Congress workers do not. They would like to have your guidance especially in view of your recent articles on the part the indigenous mills may play in the boycott movement.

The Congress resolutions on khadi are unequivocal. For those therefore who wish to respect them there is no course open but to avoid the use of cloth manufactured in our mills. But in these days of growing anarchy, it is idle to quote Congress resolutions either to support or to oppose particular conduct on the part of Congressmen.

[1] From the postmark

Let us therefore re-examine the question of Congressmen optionally using indigenous mill-cloth in the place of foreign cloth, or hawking such mill-cloth. We know the experience of Bengal. The swadeshi movement of Bengal during the partition days suffered a check because of the greed and dishonesty of mill-owners. They inflated prices and even sold foreign cloth in the name of swadeshi. There is no warrant for the belief that they would behave better on this occasion. Indeed the facts about spurious khadi that I have brought to light show that the mills will not be slow to exploit the swadeshi spirit for their own benefit as opposed to the larger benefit of the consumer.

But even if the mills were to play the game, Congressmen will not need to use mill-cloth or to advertise it. The mills playing the game means their advertising and selling khadi, their assimilation of the khadi spirit, their recognition of the predominance of khadi over mill-cloth.

It must be definitely realized that mills alone, even if they wished, cannot in our generation displace foreign cloth. Therefore there must be in the country an agency that would devote its attention, so far as boycott of foreign cloth is concerned, exclusively to khadi propaganda. That agency has been the Congress since 1920. Khadi production and khadi propaganda act at once as a check upon the greed of mills and also, strange as it may appear, as an indirect but very effective encouragement to mills in their struggle against foreign competition. Exclusive devotion to khadi on the part of Congressmen enables khadi to find a foothold and enables mills effectively to carry on their operations where the Congress has as yet no influence worth the name. Hence it is that the mills have never resented the khadi propaganda. On the contrary many of their agents have assured me that they have benefited by the khadi propaganda inasmuch as it has created an anti-foreign-cloth atmosphere enabling them to sell their comparatively coarser-count cloth. Stop exclusive khadi propaganda, play with mill-cloth and you kill khadi and in the long run you kill even mill-cloth, for it cannot by itself stand foreign competition. In a competition between indigenous and foreign mills the one disturbing factor of healthy mass sentiment will be wholly wanting, if there was no khadi spirit.

Last but not least the inestimable value of khadi consists in its capacity for tremendous mass education, mass uplift and substantial relief of growing starvation. Whereas mill-cloth affords no work and no financial help to the masses, every yard of khadi means so much work and money to the masses who are being

doubly ruined for want of work and wages. Therefore for every patriotic lover of the country there is no escape from exclusive use of and propaganda of khadi.

Young India, 10-5-1928

358. MORE OF MILL-OWNERS' GREED

The figures I gave the other day of spurious khadi manufactured by our mills were for nine months only.[1] I have now obtained them for ten months. Here are the magic figures:

Figures of the Production of Khadi, Dungri or Khaddar for Ten Months, April to January:

	1925–26	1926–27	1927–28
Lb.	2,58,22,442	3,11,95,169	3,70,36,206
Yards	7,32,44,238	8,54,31,611	10,30,61,072

This shows that they manufactured one crore yards per month, meaning at least 20 lakhs of rupees worth of khadi per month. This means a year's output of genuine khadi. This is taking money directly out of the mouths of the poor people through a movement that was designed for helping the starving millions. Baseness could go no further. The mill-owners could have served the country if they had made common cause with khadi and helped it directly instead of trying to kill it by unfair and dishonest competition. Their action is on a par with that of merchants who sell to a gullible public artificial ghee claiming it as genuine product. Like the Government they have traded on the ignorance of the people and like all their predecessors in kind they will find, if they do not retrace their steps, that they played the trick once too often. It is possible to fool some people for all times but it is not possible to fool all the people all the time. It should not be necessary for capital to be dishonest for its growth.

Young India, 10-5-1928

[1] *Vide* "A Mill-owner on Boycott", 5-4-1928.

359. *DEADLY MARCH OF CIVILIZATION (?)*

"Although at the time of writing (1917) foreign cloths are being imported to a certain extent into the Shan States, it is the custom for all Shan women to weave cloth for their own garments and those of their families. . . . The cotton from which the cloths are made is grown locally and prepared by the women. . . . In Shan villages nearly every house has a loom made sometimes of bamboo, sometimes of heavy wood, and generally kept on the ground in the open space beneath the living rooms. The raw cotton is prepared by drying the balls in the sun, extracting the seeds by passing them through the usual small two-roller gin and then opening it out by catching the partly cleaned cotton up from the revolving basket in which it is placed, by means of an instrument shaped like the bow of a violoncello. After the cotton fibres have been separated in this way they are made into slivers and wound round a stick about 8 in. long and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, from which the cotton is converted into thread by a form of spinning jenny." From *Burmese Textile* from the Shan and Cachin Dt. . . . Notes from Bankfield Museum, by Laura E. Start 1917.

But for the hypnotic spell under which the intoxicating education of our times drives us to live, we would consider it a sacrilege to deprive people of their own existing honourable occupation in the distant, vague and often vain hope of bettering their fleeting material condition. If civilization means change of form merely without regard to substance it is an article of doubtful value. And yet that is what the foregoing paragraph sent by Sjt. Balaji Rao means. Under the guise of the civilizing influence of commerce the innocent people of Burma are being impoverished and reduced to the condition of cattle. As Sjt. Madhusudan Das has pointed out, people who merely work with cattle and forget the cunning of the hand by giving up handicrafts are impoverished not only in body but also in mind.

Young India, 10-5-1928

360. *LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA*

May 10, 1928

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. I have already written to you in reply to your telegram. Do not grieve about your son Jal. His soul is immortal. It was, moreover, a highly advanced soul and, therefore, you may be sure he is happy wherever he is now. If we suffer it is because of our selfish attachment to transitory things. Improve your health if you can. I do not know anyone connected with Kuhne. If you find his place, he will do for you what he does for others. You can of course make use of my ordinary letters.

To both of you,

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7540

361. *LETTER TO MRS. E. BJERRUM*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928[1]

I must try to answer your questions today.

What you say about prayer at the Ashram is largely true. It is still a formal thing, soulless; but I continue it in the hope of it becoming a soulful thing. Human nature is much the same whether in the East or in the West. It does not therefore surprise me that you have not found anything special about prayers in the East and probably the Ashram prayer is a hotchpot of something Eastern and something Western. As I have no prejudice against taking anything good from the West or against giving up anything bad in the East, there is an unconscious blending of the two. For a congregational life a congregational prayer is a necessity and, therefore, form also is necessary. It need not be considered on that account to be hypocritical or harmful. If the leader at such

[1] It appears the letter was dictated on May 10 and dispatched the next day after revision.

congregational prayer meetings is a good man the general level of the meeting is also good. The spiritual effect of an honest intelligent attendance at such congregational prayers is undoubtedly great. Congregational prayer is not intended to supplant individual prayer, which, as you well put it, must be heartfelt and never formal. It is there you are in tune with the Infinite. Congregational prayer is an aid to being in tune with the Infinite. For man who is a social being cannot find God unless he discharges social obligations and the obligation of coming to a common prayer meeting is perhaps the supremest. It is a cleansing process for the whole congregation. But, like all human institutions, if one does not take care, such meetings do become formal and even hypocritical. One has to devise methods of avoiding the formality and hypocrisy. In all, especially in spiritual matters, it is the personal equation that counts in the end.

The roll call is not the ordinary roll call. It is a note of the results of the daily *yajna*, that is, sacrifice. Everyone says what he has spun. Spinning has been conceived in a sacrificial spirit. The idea is to see God through service of the millions. The day must not close without every member of the congregation confessing whether he or she has or has not performed the daily sacrifice to the measure of his or her promise. It is therefore not business at the end of the prayer, but it is the finishing touch to the prayer. It is not done at the beginning of the meeting, because those who are late should have the opportunity of registering their sacrifice. Remember, too, this is a sacrifice not intended to be made in secret. It is designed to be done in the open.

In my opinion, Christianity or the message of Jesus is a response to the human want even as are the messages of Krishna, Buddha, Muhammad and Zoroaster. Though they were designed and delivered at different places and at different times, they have also a universal value. According to the needs of the time one message puts more emphasis on one thing than upon another. A man of religion will not hesitate to profit by all these messages and according to his predilection derive more comfort from one than from another.

I do believe that real art consists in seeing the hidden beauty of moral acts and effects and, therefore, much that passes for art and beauty is, perhaps, neither art nor beauty.

I think I have now answered all your questions. You will please remind me if I have missed any and you will not hesitate to write to me again if I am anywhere obscure or unconsciously evasive.

My love to both of you.[1]

Yours sincerely,

MRS. E. BJERRUM
UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE
BANGALORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13221 and 15365

362. LETTER TO MARY J. CAMPBELL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter for which I thank you.

The only message I can think of sending to the World Convention of Temperance Women is that the sisters assembled should study the facts about every country in which temperance movement is being carried on by them and then and not till then may they expect a proper solution. For I find that many movements of reform lack this very simple foundation of facts. I take India by way of illustration. Very few temperance societies realize that total prohibition in India is impeded not by the people but the policy of the existing Government.

I thank you for your sympathy in my loss and reciprocate your wish that we may some day meet.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MARY J. CAMPBELL
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13220

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XXXIV, pp. 163-4.

363. *LETTER TO S. GANESAN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I am asking the Manager, *Young India*, to supply you with the list you require if he has not any objection.

I see no objection to your turning the concern into a limited company if you can find sufficient friends to support you. I cannot reconcile myself to your getting a loan carrying a big interest.

What I mean by offering to take Mr. Gregg's book off your shoulders was that if it would be of any help to you I might try to have the books bought out.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13221 a

364. *LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928

MY DEAR PETERSEN,

I was glad to have your letter. I know that if you did not write it is not for want of affection but it is because of affection. I have you often in my thoughts.

Yes, Maganlal's death is a heavy blow, if I am to consider this to be a Godless universe and we a purposeless creation; but when I realize that the hand of God is in everything, the grief itself turns to joy and gives me zest for greater service, greater dedication.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MARIE PETERSEN
KODAIKANAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 13222

365. LETTER TO S. N. MITRA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The only thing I can advise the students to do is that they should at least boldly adopt khadi and spinning irrespective of cost and consequences if they would at all identify themselves with the poorest at whose expense they are being taught in Government colleges and schools.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SACHINDRA NATH MITRA
5/2 KANTAPUKUR LANE
BAGBAZAR
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13600

366. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

May 11, 1928

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

Bhai Bhagwanji was here and he told me that it would be better if an arbitrator is appointed to settle the dispute between Revashanker and Manasukhbhai's wife. He suggests Krishnalal Jhaveri's name for the purpose, but will accept any other name which you may propose. I am sure you will agree to this proposal.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5699

367. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 11, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I am glad your fever has left you. You must be strong and send me your weight. You are there under Vallabhbhai's jurisdiction. If he wants you, you may stay on and take part in the struggle to the extent desired by him. You may come whenever you like to fetch your things if you are to stay there beyond your programme as originally mapped.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W.5303. Courtesy: Mirabehn

368. LETTER TO T. B. KESHAVARAO

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Nothing would please me better than to dot India with model dairies and model tanneries after my conviction; but unfortunately I have not been able to convert even the existing cow societies to my view. In spite of repeated letters to them individually, they have not responded even to the extent of supplying the Secretary with the information wanted.

The monetary help received also is not much, as you can notice from *Young India*. The substantial help received has been from personal friends only, not from the general public. Every donation and yarn contribution is published periodically in the pages of *Young India*. Both the tannery and the goshala in the Ashram are partly helped by the funds collected.

I think this deals with all your questions.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. B. KESHAVARAO
PRANIDAYA GNYANAPRASARAKA SANGHA
DAVANGERE, MYSORE STATE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13223; also G.N. 161

369. LETTER TO NIRANJAN SINGH[1]

May 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is no objection to your publishing a Punjabi translation of "My Experiments with Truth" as long as thing is omitted from the book.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13215

370. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

As every day spent at the Ashram just now is precious to me, I propose to be in Bombay not on the 16th but the 17th instant. Jawahar expects me to be in Bombay not earlier. You yourself tell me in your wire that you will be in Bombay in the afternoon of the 16th. Unless therefore you want me in Bombay on the 16th, I propose to reach there on the 17th, that is, if you do not absolve me from the obligation altogether.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13224

[1] The addressee was Professor of Chemistry, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

371. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letter. I am glad you have written. But you are mistaken. I do not want to turn all into Maganlals. That would be an impossible task. But I am trying to put the Ashram on a basis such that it becomes easy of management. If we have a common kitchen, it should be common to all, should it not? But there too I shall be doing nothing without the consent of the general body of the people. In any case under the present constitution I can do nothing except through the Managing Board in which I have no voice officially. That everybody still listens to me is of course true. I wish you were here whilst these changes are being made. But you are on duty. That is as good as being here.

I cannot send you to Bardoli unless I can replace you, which it is not possible to do just now.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 13225

372. LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

DEAR LALAJI,

I have your letter. Please do not think that I used the term "patronizing" in any offensive sense.[1] Let me reiterate what I have said and want to say. I want you not as a distant admirer of khadi and khadi movement. I want you to throw yourself heart and soul into it with a full deep conviction just as you have thrown yourself into untouchability movement. You are not satisfied with merely recounting the merits of removal, but you are devoting your great energy to the eradication of the evil. And so I

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Lajpat Rai", 29-4-1928.

want you not to wait for the hostile criticism that may appear in the Press, but to ask those who are likely to be hostile critics to let you have their views, unless of course a second and serious reading of the literature, especially of Gregg's book, has made your conviction unshakable. I know that your health cannot permit you to engage in a hurricane tour. But you know what I want, and that you can give me only if you have an immovable heart conviction.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13226

373. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I am glad you have given me the details of your diet. I am inclined to think that you should omit gram powder. It is not easy to digest especially when the gram is fried. You take it I suppose for its protein. Why not take the more digestive wheat in the form of well-cooked chapati or even baker's bread. It seems to me that you are not taking enough milk. A cup of milk I suppose means eight ounces, and if you take it twice, it means one pound only, not sufficient for the work you do. You should take at least two pounds of milk.

I do not know that you need rice. If you do, take it by all means. There is very little fruit in your diet. Occasional oranges won't do. We want vegetable vitamins just as much as we are supposed to require animal vitamins. And the vegetable vitamins are to be had principally from fresh fruits or fresh vegetables, the latter uncooked are not so easily digestible as fresh fruits, and the moment you cook anything you lose part of the vitamins.

How about the water treatment—hip-baths? They ought to put you right with the food I suggest. And if you will take a liberal diet and occasional fast, you will do a great deal of good.

From what you tell me, we must be prepared to lose Nikhil. I should so love to put him under the treatment of an experienced nature-cure man.

Jamnalalji tells me you would like to pass a few days with me. That you can do any time. I would have even Nikhil here and

if he must die, he may do so here. But the weather may be too trying for him and for you all.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 13227

374. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 12, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your letter.

Jamnalalji is here. I shall speak to him about exercise. He needs it.

Which *asanas* are you practising? My health may be said to be fair.

It would be good if Satis Babu was given assistance. He is so self-sacrificing and pure.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6167. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

375. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI

May 12, 1928

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI,

I have of course written to Devchandbhai.[1]

I have carefully preserved your article on God. I hope to write about it some day.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5811

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Devchand Parekh", 11-5-1928.

376. CELEBRATING PENANCE

A friend writes to say:[1]

I congratulate this friend on showing so much courage and disregarding an unworthy practice. If other Jains, Vaishnavas, etc., follow this example, welfare activities in the country will be helped and pleasures enjoyed in the name of religion will be somewhat curtailed.

We are so much given to enjoyments that we convert the purest of pure activities into excuses for them. Putting aside the spiritual benefits of fasting, we seek greatness thereby and then make fasting an occasion for indulging our palate.

Indeed those who would practise austerities should abstain from proclaiming the fact with beat of drums or causing others to do so and they should not become proud. And if relatives and such others wish to put such penance to good use, they should quietly and without a motive make that an occasion for making donations to worthy causes.

There is another point too in this friend's letter. Institutions like orphanages and children's homes expect donations for a feast on such occasions. This is a deplorable custom. By establishing orphanages, orphans should be given a sense of belonging. And if these latter are given this sense of belonging, they should never be fed on meals which have been begged from others. It is one thing to obtain donations for running orphanages and another to feed its inmates with whatever donors wish to give them. In the one case the purpose is to run an institution while in the other the self-respect of the orphans is touched. Moreover, institutions accepting such meals endanger the health of their inmates, make them fussy about food and cause them harm. Hence if such institutions insist upon donations instead of meals and if donors insist upon not giving feasts by way of donations, they will be contributing to public welfare.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-5-1928

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the practice current among Jains of celebrating the end of a religious fast on *Vaishakh Sud* 3 by feasting on a lavish scale, accepting gifts and singing as at a wedding. The correspondent had however refrained from such celebration and saved Rs. 201, which he sent to Gandhiji to spend on any cause he liked.

377. *THE YAJNA IN BARDOLI*

So far Vallabhbhai has not asked for any financial assistance for the *yajna* that is going on in Bardoli; now, however, the time for that has come. Satyagrahi soldiers like Shri Ravishanker and Shri Chinai are in prison. Others too will follow them as they ought to. If the people have any fire in them and if the Government does not wish to yield till the end, not a single soldier will remain outside prison nor a single landowner will own any property or remain outside prison. All wars are alike up to a certain point, whether they be satyagrahi in nature or those involving brute force. Both certainly involve sacrifice. In the Great War in Europe, soldiers on both sides were ruined, the warriors of both sides lost their lives. Myriads of people in Germany were rendered homeless. However, here the similarity between brute force and satyagraha ends. The satyagrahi ruins himself. He deliberately gives up the momentary pleasure of ruining the enemy and finds happiness in his own renunciation. Hence a satyagrahi struggle may be called a *yajna*. It involves self-purification.

In this sacrifice, financial support has chiefly come till today from Bardoli itself. Whatever contribution has been sent by anyone voluntarily has been accepted. To do so hereafter would be beyond our capacity. Tomorrow the people of Bardoli may have no homes, no possessions, no fields, no cattle. In such circumstances, Vallabhbhai has a right to ask for outside assistance. Everyone should read Vallabhbhai's leaflet appealing for funds and those who approve of this movement in Bardoli and those who see purity and courage in it should contribute all they can.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-5-1928

Among the aims of the Gujarat Vidyapith is that its activity should be primarily concerned with village education. Village education today has broadly come to mean primary education. The task of this Vidyapith is not to turn out schoolteachers or clerks but to train village workers. If the Vidyapith must be near a city, its task is to contribute towards changing the attitude of the city if possible. In other words, the cities which today flourish on the ruins of villages should so change that they serve the villages.

Whether or not the cities change, the Vidyapith must convert to this viewpoint as many as possible of the young men and women there.

Hence it is necessary that primary education should be considered from various points of view.

I wish to dwell on only one idea in this article. From many years of reflection and quite a few experiments, I have come to the conclusion that primary education should be given for at least a year without using any text-books and even after that pupils should make the minimum use of them.

When a child is learning the alphabet, when he is trying to master the forms of numerals and letters, his senses remain dormant and his intelligence, instead of blossoming, becomes stunted. A child starts learning immediately after birth but it does so mainly through the eyes and ears. It learns language as soon as it starts speaking. Hence the child is as its parents are. If the latter are cultured, the child pronounces words correctly and imitates the right ways of the home. This alone constitutes his true education and were it not that our civilization has become so disrupted, children would be receiving the best education in the home itself.

But we are not yet in such a happy situation. There is no alternative to sending children to schools.

However, if children must go to schools, these should feel like homes to them and their teachers should be as parents. The education given also should be similar to that which is imparted in a cultured home. In other words, children must receive their primary education from teachers through the spoken word. By receiving education in this manner a child can gain in a year

through his eyes and ears ten times the knowledge he can acquire through the alphabet.

The child will have got a general knowledge of history and geography in the first year through play and in the form of stories. He will have learnt some poems by heart with their correct pronunciation. He will have memorized his tables. Moreover, as the child will not be burdened with having to identify letters of the alphabet, his mind will be kept from withering and his eyes will not be misused.

The child's hand, instead of being used to form crooked letters on a slate and trying to understand the difficult symbols that are letters, would rather be engaged in drawing geometrical lines and recognizing pictures. This is the primary education of the hands.

And if we wish to impart primary education to the crores of children of Gujarat and of India, we shall not be able to do so in any other way.

Under the present circumstances, it is impossible for this country to see that books reach crores of children. I admit that if it is necessary to supply children with books in order to give them primary education, we should try to do so, whatever the cost. However, if books are regarded as superfluous and harmful, the practical argument may be put forward. What is unnecessary or harmful from an ethical standpoint is also found to be impractical. In a civilization that is free from flaws, the ethical and the practical are not opposed to each other and should not be.

It is clear that such education cannot be given by the teachers of present-day primary schools. These teachers may thrash the children and make them learn the alphabet and perhaps a few numbers. The poor teacher himself does not have the general knowledge which I visualize for the child in the first year. When the teachers themselves do not know how to speak the language in its pure form, how can the children learn it from them?

We shall consider this idea in the second part.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-5-1928

379. LETTER TO P. V. KARAMCHANDANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter. I had heard of the radium treatment.[1]

I thank you for your offer to send me the bottles in your possession. But I shall not avail myself of your offer as, apart from my disinclination to take medicine internally, at the present moment I do not seem to be suffering from much blood-pressure.

Yours sincerely,

CAPTAIN P. V. KARAMCHANDANI, I.M.S.
INDIAN MILITARY HOSPITAL
PISHIN
BALUCHISTAN

From a photostat: S.N. 13228

380. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

Sunday, May 13, 1928

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Even if you don't ask for my blessings, you have them. May you live long and render much useful service. What present did Sumati give you on your birthday? Does she spin daily? Is she a habitual wearer of khadi? Does she constantly think of the poor? If she gives you such presents on every birthday, both of you will reap the reward of goodness and the poor will prosper.

I will use your cheque in accordance with your wishes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4704. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

[1] The addressee had suggested the use of radium chloride for treatment of Gandhiji's blood-pressure.

381. LETTER TO LORD IRWIN

SABARMATI,
May 16, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I deeply appreciate your letter containing reference to my loss. I am just reminded that Maganlal Gandhi was presented to you at Nadiad last year.

I am,
Your Excellency's Faithful Friend,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13386

382. THE ONLY ISSUE

The Bardoli campaign is going on merrily. At the rate the forfeiture notices are being served, practically the whole of the Taluk of Bardoli should be in Government's possession and they can pay themselves a thousand times over for their precious assessment. The people of Bardoli if they are brave will be none the worse for dispossession. They will have lost their possessions but kept what must be the dearest of all to good men and women—their honour. Those who have stout hearts and hands need never fear loss of belongings.

But forfeiture notices having failed the Government are now adding to them the imprisonment of workers. They are holding mock trials such as we saw during the Punjab martial-law days. The prosecutor is asking for and the obliging special magistrate is giving deterrent sentences which are all rigorous. These too like dispossession will do good to the willing victims. Suffering willingly undergone never harms the sufferer.

What however goes against the grain is dishonesty and insolence of office. The Commissioner, Northern Division, has written a letter to a correspondent which is full of insulting insinuations and untruths.

It is an untruthful insinuation to suggest that the campaign was started by Kheda agitators. It was started by the Bardoli people themselves and the only person whose help and advice they

sought was Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel whom I presume the Commissioner knows somewhat. Whether he can truthfully be called agitator in the sense intended by the Commissioner must be left to the reader to judge.

It is untruthful to say that the officers of the Government are subjected to "spying, mobbing and other indignities".

The workers are described as "the swarm of agitators living on them (the people of Bardoli) and misguiding them". This is an insult for which under better times and if the nation was conscious of its strength the Commissioner would be made to offer a public apology. Let him know that those whom in his anger and intoxication of power he calls a "swarm of agitators" are honourable servants of the nation giving their free services to Bardoli at considerable sacrifice. Among these, besides Vallabhbhai Patel who is a Barrister, are the hoary-headed Abbas Tyabji, another Barrister and an ex-Chief Judge of Baroda, Imamsaheb Bawazir, who is practically a fakir needing no support from Bardoli, and Dr. Sumant Mehta and his equally cultured wife. Dr. Sumant Mehta who has been ailing for some time has gone to Bardoli at considerable risk to his health. These four by the way do not belong to Kheda at all. Then there is the Darbarsaheb of Dhasa and his intrepid wife Bhaktiba who for the sake of their country have sacrificed their estate. They are not living upon the people of Bardoli. There are Doctors Chandulal and Tribhuvandas, again not of Kheda. Add to these Fulchand Shah, his wife, and his lieutenant Shivanand (already in jail). These again do not belong to Kheda and have for years dedicated themselves to silent service. It is the wail of Bardoli that has called these and others whom I can name. If the Commissioner has any sense of honour about him he will volunteer an apology to these ladies and gentlemen. In fact the Kheda workers are in a hopeless minority among the numerous workers.

The Commissioner pompously trots out the adverse vote of the Bombay Council and conveniently suppresses the two previous votes of the Council that had gone against the Government and that were by them treated as beneath contempt and beneath notice.

The Commissioner suppresses the very relevant truth that before resorting to direct action the people of Bardoli tried every means known as constitutional to get redress and hopelessly failed.

The Commissioner throws dust in the eyes of the public when he suggests that if the sorely tried people of Bardoli give up their campaign he would gladly investigate the case of any village that may be found to have been wrongly grouped. He suppresses the

truth that the point at issue is not the wrong grouping of this village or that; the point at issue is the palpably wrong method of assessment. *And the people of Bardoli do not insist upon their point being accepted but they do insist upon an independent and impartial tribunal being appointed to investigate the justice of their complaint and to abide by the judgment of that tribunal whatever it may be.* Here there is no shirking of payment, no question of redress of individual hardship. The question is one of principle. The people of Bardoli deny the right of the Government to dictate without proper investigation any increase in the assessment. Let me add that this is no no-tax campaign launched for any political end. This is a campaign directed towards a well-defined specific grievance affecting the people of a whole Taluk.

It is therefore the height of impudence and gross untruth for the Commissioner to say:

> No one is more anxious than I that the poor cultivators should not be ruined by the swarm of agitators who are living on them and misguiding them.
>
> There are five taluks in Kaira District from which these agitators come, the revision settlements of which have been postponed for 2 years on account of floods. Nearly half a crore of rupees has been advanced by Government in Kaira District for flood relief in the last 7 or 8 months. If they succeed in Bardoli, the recovery of Government assessment and *takavi* in Kaira District would be imperilled.

If the "agitators" succeed, it will not be the *takavi* to Kheda that will be in jeopardy. If it is withheld by the borrowers the Government will find the arch-agitator Vallabhbhai Patel to be their unpaid collector of the loans. What however will happen if the agitators succeed is that the Government officers will not dare to insult honoured servants of the people and utter untruths as the Commissioner, Northern Division has done and that the people will be able to have some redress against grossly unfair and unjust assessment as the Bardoli assessment is claimed to be.

One word to the people. The Government in their wisdom and in order to emphasize the fact that this rule is sustained by the policy of *divide et impera* have drafted in the midst of an overwhelmingly large Hindu population Mussalman officials and Pathan hirelings. As satyagrahis the people can easily checkmate the Government. Let them treat the officials and the Pathans as friends. Let them not distrust or in any the slightest manner fear or molest them. They the officials are our countrymen, the Pathans are our neighbours. Ere long the Government will discover their

mistake and know that the honour of a Hindu is as dear to a Mussalman as to a Hindu and *vice versa*. The people of Bardoli have the chance of demonstrating this in a concrete manner. Let them vindicate the law of satyagraha which is also the law of Love and they will melt even the stony heart of an autocratic Commissioner.

Young India, 17-5-1928

383. *SUPPRESSED CLASSES AND BAGHAT STATE*

After all the Rana Saheb of Baghat did receive on the 5th instant a deputation on behalf of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, consisting of Rai Saheb Lala Ganga Ram, Pandit Chamupati, M.A., Dewan Ram Sharan Das of Ludhiana, Pandit Dharmavir Vedalankar and Lala Shankar Nath, Advocate, Simla, to discuss the situation that had arisen out of the recent attitude of the State in the matter of wearing of the sacred thread by Kolis, reclaimed by the Arya Samaj.

The deputation has been permitted to issue the following agreed statement of what happened at the interview:

> The members of the deputation thanked Rana Saheb for the cordial hospitality extended to them, and explained the position of the Shastras and the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha in this behalf. His Highness gave a patient hearing to their representation and assured them that his State gave perfect liberty to all well-established religious societies to propagate their religion among his subjects. The members expressed their gratitude for the courtesy with which their representation was heard and the encouraging reply vouchsafed to them and withdrew.

The agreed statement betrays too much caution and great timidity on the part of the State. The State would have gained in public estimation by a frank confession of the wrong done to the suppressed classes and the insult offered to a great religious organization. However let us be thankful for small mercies. The wrong and the insult will be forgotten if the letter and the spirit of the promise made by the Rana Saheb are fulfilled.

Young India, 17-5-1928

384. MAGANLAL GANDHI MEMORIAL

The Council of the All-India Spinners' Association passed the following resolution at its meeting on the 12th instant:

> Resolved that a khadi museum be organized in memory of the late Sjt. Maganlal K. Gandhi and that an appeal be made for rupees one lakh for this purpose, the location of the Memorial and other details of the administration to be decided by the Council.

The numerous messages of condolence sent to me from all parts of India and distant South Africa show the place that the deceased found in the affections of the public. A silent worker so good and popular as the deceased deserves a memorial. The Council of the All-India Spinners' Association after deep consideration came to the conclusion that there could be no better memorial to the deceased than that a khadi museum be established at some suitable place. The deceased himself had conceived the idea and as was his wont had utilized a room in the Satyagraha Ashram for a miniature museum. But the manner in which khadi has progressed requires a permanent and commodious building and a collection worthy of the deceased and the movement. Such a museum cannot cost anything less than one lakh of rupees. Hence the minimum amount of one lakh fixed by the Council. A khadi museum to be a house of serious study and instruction is capable of limitless expansion. With one lakh of rupees the Council hopes only to make a modest yet substantial beginning and give permanent shape to the scheme the deceased had in view. In accordance with the response the public may make, the museum may have a full set of books dealing with the past and the present of cotton culture, the specimens of the finest to the coarsest khadi produced in the past and in the present, the specimens of spinning-wheels, hand-gins, carding-bows and handlooms from the most ancient obtainable to the most modern. There may be a plot of ground attached to the museum where experiments can be made in cotton-growing to suit not the world market and the princes of exploitation but the humble villager. This latter was being done by the deceased at the Satyagraha Ashram. The cotton grown at the Ashram has become very popular with spinners. Home-grown cotton, which is well picked and which does not need to undergo the devitalizing process of pressing, saves immense labour and time for the carder and enables the spinner to draw a stronger thread. These

and many other things can be done at the proposed museum if the response is liberal and exceeds the minimum fixed by the Council.

The machinery to give effect to the scheme is to be the All-India Spinners' Association which is a growing organization of men determined upon doing solid and constructive work.

The venue of the museum is not fixed as the Council has a choice of more places than one. Sabarmati naturally occurs first to the mind. And if it is found to be otherwise the most convenient spot, no doubt it will be chosen by the Council. It hopes to make the Museum as businesslike as was the deceased himself. No false sentiment will therefore be allowed to weigh with the Council in the choice of the venue.

All subscriptions will be acknowledged in these columns. Payments may be made either to the Secretary, Sjt. Shankerlal Banker, Mirzapur, Ahmedabad, or to Sheth Jamnalalji Bajaj, 395, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, or to the Manager, Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati.

Young India, 17-5-1928

385. *KHADI IN HYDERABAD STATE*

It is a matter for joy that the Princes of India are recognizing the place of khadi in national economy. The latest comer in the line is the Hyderabad State. The Department of Industries in the Nizam's dominions recently sent its inspector to study the technique of khadi at the Satyagraha Ashram and sent also two young men to learn the various processes. The young men were not able to finish the course, as the climate and perhaps the life at the Ashram did not agree with them. The point is that a beginning has been made, the inspector Moulvi Mahomed Ali was full of enthusiasm and he seemed to realize as never before the importance of the spinning-wheel. Let me hope that the Department of Industries will keep in touch with the Technical Department of the A.I.S.A. and organize the charkha work in Hyderabad in a proper businesslike manner, as it is being done in Mysore, where the other day the Dewan Mr. Mirza Mahomed Ismail personally inspected the khadi work being done through the suppressed classes. Sjt. Pujari who escorted the Dewan tells me that he admired the work and appreciated the fact that besides being a supplementary occupation for the peasantry the spinning-wheel seemed to give substantial uplift to the suppressed classes.

Young India, 17-5-1928

It is not without regret, certainly not without hesitation, that I find room for the following chapter and more to follow.[1] I doubt if replies to Miss Mayo have not been overdone. If I was convinced that the readers of Miss Mayo's libel read the refutations that have been and are being published I should have much less hesitation in publishing Deenabandhu Andrews's reply. But I fear that the refutations do not reach her readers and therefore lose much of their value. Miss Mayo represents an evil principle. No nation can be a world menace. India certainly is not. But writers like the authoress of *Mother India* are a world menace. And I am not sure that they can be dealt with by mere counter-writings however pure and able they may be. In other words the question that is troubling me is whether lying tongues and pens can be checked merely by truthful tongues and pens. Is not something quite different and nobler necessary to be done if the evil propaganda of Miss Mayo is to be successfully checked? But I have no ready-made effective substitute for the writings such as Deenabandhu Andrews's. And as he is a co-sharer with me in the principle that *Young India* connotes and even after second thoughts he persists in thinking that there is still room for his refutations, I am no longer able to resist him. I know that he will be satisfied, as I shall certainly be, if even one man or woman who before believed Miss Mayo's caricature comes to be disillusioned by his chapters.

Young India, 17-5-1928

[1] These articles by C. F. Andrews are not reproduced here.

387. *LETTER TO TREASURER, AJMAL JAMIA FUND*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,[1]
SABARMATI,
May 18, 1928

THE TREASURER
AJMAL JAMIA FUND
395 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

AJMAL JAMIA FUND

Your letter of the 10th May. I have to draw your attention to a discrepancy in the totalling in the copy of the list sent to us on 21-4-28. You have put it down as Rs. 6,935-1-0, whereas on actual totalling it comes only to Rs. 6,884-9-0. Therefore there is a difference of Rs. 50-8-0. Kindly compare the figures published in *Young India* of this week with your books and find out the discrepancy and let me know so that the same can be rectified in the coming issue.

The following names and their donations have been omitted from the list, "Further Collections in the Week". This was done, because we deemed it much better to give the collections made from the members of the Ashram in a lump sum. The Secretary is sending you a complete list in which you may include the omitted figures also.

Names and donations omitted:[2]

Unfortunately in this week's *Young India*, a mistake in the figures in the list published has crept in. The totalling in actuals exceeds by eight annas. I am looking into the original list sent to the press and I hope to find the mistakes and rectify the same in the coming issue.

When sending the new list you will kindly send us a complete list including the last one sent by you for publication in this week's issue, that is, the list sent by you after your letter dated 10th May. Please omit the names of the Ashram donors. It is thought better to contribute a lump sum in the name of the

[1] Gandhiji was in Bombay on May 18, 1928.
[2] Here followed a list, which is not reproduced.

Ashram rather than small sums in the names of the individuals. If you want the list to be published it must reach us before Monday.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 14923

388. TELEGRAM TO MAHOMED ALI

[On or after *May 19, 1928*][1]

DELIGHTED RECEIVE YOUR WIRE. HOPE PROGRESS KHADI WILL BE GUARANTEED BY MAHARAJA SAHEB.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13599

389. PRIMARY EDUCATION-II

The problem is how to impart the education we discussed in the last issue and wherefrom to get the teachers to impart it. This is the real problem regarding education. The Government Training College has not solved this problem. It has not even solved the problem of the three Rs—that is, reading, writing and arithmetic. Even of these three so little is learnt that neither the pupils nor the public profit much by it.

Hence this task has to be taken up by the National College. It is the duty and the right of the latter to find new methods in the field of education which would sustain the national cause. And in my humble opinion, we can take these methods in a very small measure from Europe and in an even smaller measure from the current trends in India. In every country education is for the preservation of its independence.

Hence we shall have to conduct new experiments in our education. In doing so, we may well make ourselves familiar with the experience in Europe; but we should not conclude that all that is found there is good or what is good under the conditions prevailing there will be good for us. One of the conclusions that emerges from this is that we should regard with suspicion the methods practised in the Government schools. Since the education imparted by the Government is fatal to swaraj as well as to our

[1] This was sent in reply to a telegram received on May 19 from Mahomed Ali, Inspector, Industries, Aurangabad, which read: "Khadi Exhibition spinning demonstration successful by your blessings. Maharajah Bahadur kissed your yarn and sends best salaams and promises to spin. Your blessings required."

civilization, it is possible that if we follow the opposite methods in many matters we may find the right path. Let us take an example.

The medium of instruction there is English, hence we must conclude that the medium of national education cannot be English.

They put up huge expensive buildings in which to give education. We should realize that this is improper. Our School buildings should be simple and inexpensive.

Stress there is purely on literary learning and India's industries are ignored. We know that this is improper.

In that form of education, teaching of religion, that is, religion not of any particular community but universal religion, has no place. We know that this leads to a negation of education.

The history that is taught in Government schools is, if not false, written from the British standpoint. The very same facts have been interpreted differently by German, French and American historians. Contemporary events are interpreted by the Government in one way and by the people in another, as in the case of the massacre in the Punjab.

The economics taught in Government schools upholds the British system while we, on the other hand, view it differently. Government schools make a plea for the town civilization, whereas the villages are the soul of our national civilization.

In Government primary schools, their teachers, with the minimum amount of knowledge, are employed without regard to their character and on the minimum salaries possible, whereas in national primary schools, the teachers being self-sacrificing and persons of character and learning (and not because they are in in a sorry plight), should accept the smallest salaries.

We can now have an idea of the kind of education that should be given in the city schools.

Our pupils should live in villages, lend stability to village civilization, be familiar with the needs of villagers, rid them of such faults as they may have, teach their children not to become city-dwellers but to remain villagers, i.e., to become farmers. Hence so long as the existing system of education in the cities is not basically changed without fear, we shall not attain one of the basic ideals of the Vidyapith nor may we be said to practise it.

Let us take only one example: In Ahmedabad itself we are running a university, a new Gujarati school and a Vinay Mandir. We shall have the right to run them only when we attempt to make villagers out of the children who study in them, when we succeed in making them take interest in village life, when we make them understand the latter, and, finally, when those of them who

are about to leave the Vinay Mandir or the University, spread out into the villages and start serving the villagers.

We shall consider next how this can be done.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-5-1928

390. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

Silence Day [May 21, 1928][1]

CHI. MANI,

I read your note about Sharadabehn in your letter to Chi. Kanti. I felt slightly unhappy. I think about the matter every day. I inquire about it from everyone coming from there. Mirabehn has told me much. How can I write all that? But I have not given up hope. I rest in the belief that everything will be all right. Write to me when you feel like doing so. From what Vallabhbhai told me in Bombay I could see that he was satisfied with your work there. I felt so happy. But then, that is not enough for me. I want to see in you maturity, equanimity, contentment, discrimination, modesty, firmness, scrupulous regard for truth, earnestness, study and meditation. Without these yours will not be a life that becomes a virgin and dedicated social worker.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL
SWARAJ ASHRAM
BARDOLI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—Manibehn Patelne, pp. 65-6

391. LETTER TO ZAKIR HUSAIN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 23, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter, which I prize for its absolute frankness.

I would personally have preferred a declaration of emphatic non-co-operation; but I am not prepared to advise you to

[1] As in the source

abandon the institution because you have a milder declaration. After all, it is not the declaration that so much matters as action when the testing time comes. The fate of the institution will depend ultimately not upon the trustees but upon the professors who are giving their all to it.

I know your pecuniary difficulties. I am helpless. I discussed the thing with Dr. Ansari in Bombay and he told me that he hoped to send you some money from Bombay. I could not ask Jamnalalji to send you further advance unless everything was in order.

I do not at all like the large body.

Dr. Ansari has promised to come to Sabarmati immediately after Id. If he does, I shall re-discuss the thing with him.

Yours sincerely,

DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN
JAMIA MILLIA
KAROL BAGH
DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14925

392. *HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICAN SATYAGRAHA*

Sjt. S. Ganesan, the enterprising publisher of Madras, has now brought out a translation from the original of my History, if it may be so called, of Satyagraha in South Africa.[1] The translation has been carefully made by Sjt Valji Govindji Desai. The volume is well printed, is bound in khadi, covers 511 pages and is rightly dedicated by the publisher to the late Maganlal Gandhi. The book contains 50 chapters and covers practically the whole of the period of my stay in South Africa. Those numerous readers who are following "The Story of My Experiments with Truth" cannot afford to be without this volume, if they will rightly understand the implications of truth as they have occurred to me and the very wonderful and matchless force which I have called or rather which Maganlal Gandhi called 'satyagraha' otherwise rendered as 'love-force', 'soul-force', 'truth-force', as distinguished from the force connoted by the term 'passive resistance'. Satyagraha is not conceived as a weapon merely of the weak. It is the strongest force that one can possibly imagine or wish for and is a complete substitution for brute force. Those who will understand how the former worked in South Africa in the face of all odds

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIX.

should possess this volume. It can be had from S. Ganesan, Publisher, Triplicane, Madras, S. E., price Rs. 4-8-0.

Young India, 24-5-1928

393. ANDREWS'S TRIBUTE

From the tribute sent by Deenabandhu Andrews to the memory of Maganlal Gandhi, with whom he had come in close contact, I take the following[1], omitting personal references.

Young India, 24-5-1928

394. BUYING MERIT

A correspondent draws my attention to the institution of lotteries in Goa for the purpose of supporting hospitals. The correspondent tells me that lakhs of rupees are spent by people in British India in these lotteries in the vain hope of suddenly becoming rich without effort and yet gaining heavenly merit. Here is an extract from an advertisement sent by the correspondent:

> Behold the sick. He that giveth to the poor lends to God. Then why not help our poor by staking a rupee at this drawing? It is a comely way of exercising charity.

The advertisement contains a portrait of a hoary-headed reverend gentleman.

It would be interesting to know the condition of the hospitals built with the monies gained from these lotteries. Meanwhile it is worth while to examine the ethics of founding charitable institutions with monies collected by an appeal to man's greed, enhancing it by a promise of merit if the purchaser of such a lottery ticket should fail to get the tempting prize or prizes as lakhs of purchasers must fail.

As it is, the haste to be rich without working and waiting for the happy day pervades the atmosphere. Everyone who spends a rupee on the race course or in a lottery ticket erects the pyramid of his hope on the foundation of the ruin of a multitude of such hopes of men and women having equal right with the few lucky (?) winners of prizes. It is difficult, however, to single out the lottery system for criticism, when the gambling spirit possesses

[1] Not reproduced here

even those who are ranked among the most respectable. The share-market is nothing but a feverish gamble. And yet who is free from that fever? Every man who finds himself rich in a day by manipulating the share-market knows that the sudden accession of wealth means desolation of many a widow's home. Only the relatives of the widows who bought shares had, no doubt, almost the same kind of hope that the clever speculator of our imagination had.

Cotton, rice and jute are, strange as it may appear, objects of such speculation. The system of lottery is but a crude extension of the same gambling spirit. It is no doubt good to treat the lottery as disrespectable, but it is better to make the acquaintance of the spirit that is common to the lottery and the share-market and thus deal with the root cause of the disease rather than its worst symptom. It is, therefore, to be wished that the worst symptom will enable us to reach the root cause and deal effectively with it.

But it is a far-off hope. Let not my mention of the pervasive nature of the disease make a single person connected with these lotteries seek justification for his participation in the lottery system.

And the caution is all the more necessary when the lottery is in connection with a charitable institution. Surely it is bad enough to want to be rich without deserving, but it is positively wrong to connect charity with a gamble. Those who throw away rupees in lotteries must not think that they gain merit even whilst they are hoping to satisfy an unlawful ambition. We may not hope to serve God and Mammon at the same time.

And why do the Christian conductors of the Goan hospitals degrade religion by exploiting the evil tendency of human nature? Do they imagine that they please God by attempting to support a hospital by making lakhs of people morally diseased? Are they not robbing Peter to pay Paul? What will it profit them to heal a few bodies if at the same time they wound a thousand times more souls?

Young India, 24-5-1928

395. SPINNING IN MUNICIPAL SCHOOLS

The Secretary, Khadi Board, Jalgaon, sends me a well-prepared tabulated report of *takli* and charkha-spinning in its municipal schools. The report covers the period between 15th June, 1927 and 15th February, 1928. 149 girls and 126 boys were spinning either on the *takli* or the wheel. The time allowed was from 25 minutes to 50 minutes per day. The total output was 4,48,000 yards. The maximum speed on the *takli* was 125 yards per hour and on the wheel 325 yards. This is a creditable record. What has been possible in the Jalgaon Municipal schools is possible in all the municipal schools. It can be shown that if the nation willed it, it could get all the yarn it needs through its school-going children and teach them self-respect and self-reliance during their scholastic life, a period which some falsely think is one of irresponsibility and indulgence. I note that only boys spinning on the wheels do their own carding. The implication is that the others do not. It is being more and more realized that the secret of good spinning is not merely good but perfect carding. This can be attained only if everyone cards for himself or herself. If it is learnt truly it is easily learnt. Another suggestion I venture to offer is that no time should be lost in turning all the yarn spun into khadi and for that purpose either one of the promising boys should be trained or one of the teachers should learn the art of weaving. Failing that the local weaver should be induced to weave such yarn.

Young India, 24-5-1928

396. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 24, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Here is a copy of my letter to Mr. Sen Gupta.[1]

Yours,

Encl. 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 13640

[1] *Vide* the following item.

397. LETTER TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

May 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I hear that you are having a grand exhibition at the time of the forthcoming Congress at Calcutta. But I am told also that it is not to be confined merely to absolutely genuine swadeshi but that it is to contain all exhibits—foreign and otherwise. Can this be true? I should have thought that you will have khadi as the centre-piece and round it you will have exhibits of those things that are absolutely swadeshi from start to finish and that you will not only exclude foreign cloth and all foreign things but also indigenous mill-cloth. Such has been the history of the Congress Exhibitions since the Ahmedabad Session. The first painful departure from this practice took place at Madras last year. I hope Calcutta won't repeat the mistake.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. SEN GUPTA
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13606

398. LETTER TO MAHOMED HABIBULLAH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing copy of Sjt. Sastri's cable[1] for my confidential information.

Yours sincerely,

SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH
VICEROY'S COUNCIL MEMBER
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 11987

[1] Sastri's cable from Cape Town read: "In continuation of my telegram dated 24th April 1928, No. 202, I have been obliged to cancel the tour in Transvaal

399. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

May 24, 1928

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

I have your letter. Mr. Banker reminds me that the money was given to you at my instance whilst I was convalescing at Juhu. Of course you got it for khadi work, but surely you don't mean to suggest that because you got it for khadi work, you are not personally liable? In fact the money was advanced because of your personal guarantee. If you question the correctness of the interpretation will you accept arbitration? The Council of the A.I.S.A. has a duty to perform. You will therefore recognize their difficulty and mine.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. PRAKASAM
"SWARAJYA"
BROADWAY, MADRAS G.T.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13607

400. A LETTER[2]

May 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

You will now have heard from Mr. Ramanathan, and I trust that if you are not satisfied about the reasons for withholding the amount of security deposited by you, you will accept arbitration.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13608

---

and come to Cape Town to interview the Minister of Interior regarding condonation scheme. Have urged 1914 lines which Gandhi and Patrick Duncan favour. Department of Interior is keen on the scheme being operated notwithstanding recent judgments reported in my telegram dated April 27th No. 214. Indians Transvaal greatly agitated especially the Gujaratis but might be pacified by the 1914 line. Minister promised consideration but I have misgivings.

Please send copy of this confidentially to Gandhi by post."

[1] A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association.

[2] Addressee's name is omitted.

401. LETTER TO S. RAMANATHAN

May 24, 1928

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

I have your letter about . . . . It is quite correct. I have written to . . . as per enclosed copy.[1]

I send you herewith connected papers.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13609

402. LETTER TO MEHAR SINGH RAIT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I fear that so long as we are without swaraj, we must resign ourselves to the disabilities such as you are labouring under.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 808

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The addressee had been deported from America. His American wife also had lost her citizenship "by marrying a Hindu".

403. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 24, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Ram Binod is giving great trouble. He has not yet discharged his obligation to the Association. Is it possible for you to make an appeal to him?

What is Krishnadas doing?

How are you keeping?

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1592

404. LETTER TO F. H. BROWN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 25, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I remember very well our meetings in London, when I visited it with the South African deputation.

With reference to the permission for an English edition of "The Story of My Experiments with Truth", the permission was given last year to the Macmillan Company of New York.

The second volume of the book is not to be published just now. It will take some time, because I do not know how the chapters of Indian experiences will run. I have no definite plan mapped out. I am, therefore, unable to say how many more chapters I shall have to write, and it is for that reason that publication of the second volume has been suspended.

I thank you for your condolence.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

F. H. BROWN, ESQ.
DILKUSHA
FOREST HILL, LONDON, S.E. 23

From a copy: S.N. 14317; also C.W. 4440. Courtesy: F.H. Brown

405. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 25, 1928

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABU,

I have your letter. There should be nothing between God and us, if we are to be nearest to Him. Love between husband and wife is a hindrance, for that love as we understand it, is necessarily exclusive and necessarily personal.

2. Faith in God cannot be reasoned out. It does not come from the head but from the heart, and, things of the heart are spontaneous and instinctive. Our very weakness and limitations should inspire faith in the Perfect and the Limitless. And if we have that faith, we would necessarily be without troubles, miseries and the like.

3. Why do you say that you are not serving the public cause because you are drawing Rs. 50 per month? Everyone who serves the Charkha Sangh undoubtedly serves the nation. It would be foolish to expect in this poor country to work without even being fed. That other people have no regard or love for you because you are not a flourishing lawyer is no cause for sorrow. But it is a good cause for congratulation, if you can be happy without wealth and public esteem.

Why should Babu Vindeshwari Prasad seek your protection? If he has the conviction that it would be right in giving up his practice, he should delight in earning his starvation wage as millions of our countrymen are doing. If he is repentant that he gave up his practice, he should resume it.

As for your children the true education that you can give them is to bring them up as honest labourers. And that education can profit them and the country; and, instead of your children being a burden on you, will be a blessing to both.

I hope your wife has completely recovered. Let me say that the Ashram constitution is undergoing a drastic revision and at the present moment, the desire is not to take any more for at least one year. Therefore, if your wife should desire to come

here during the next one or two months, please write to me before you think of sending her.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 51

406. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 25, 1928

I have your letters. I asked Mahadev to keep you duly informed and tell you everything about Maganlal's death. I have not the time to dictate much. This is just to say how much I appreciate your cable and your letters.

I have now taken up my abode in Maganlal's room.

Mahadev must have given you the cause. Maganlal went on duty to Calcutta. Then he went to Gaya, from there to see Radha at the place where she had gone to tear down the *purdah* in a family. On the way he contracted a chill, developed pneumonia and surrounded by kind friends who did all that was humanly possible for him, he died in peace after nine days' illness.

H.S.L. POLAK, ESQ.
42, 47 & 48 DANES INN HOUSE
265, STRAND, LONDON, W.C. 2

From a photostat: S.N. 14316

407. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

Friday, Jeth Sud 6, 1984 [*May 25, 1928*]

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have read both your letters carefully.

What I said, and the manner in which I said it, does not seem to have been correctly reported to you.

There is nothing new in the changes I have suggested. I have not made any change in the definition of an Ashram inmate. The only significance of the change is that we should strive hard to follow the ideal which we have always kept before us.

I never put pressure on anyone, and have never wished to do so. I have recently refused to do that on two friends who wish to run separate kitchens for themselves. I, therefore, see no compulsion in regard to anything. I employ earnest argument (with love) and try to explain everything clearly.

I am of the view that those who have joined the Ashram should conform to the moral growth or changes in the Ashram. They cannot say that they will obey certain rules only and that, if new rules are made and applied, it would be breach of contract. No institution can continue to exist on that condition. There can be fixity only about concrete matters, such as salary, period, etc. At the Ashram, however, generally speaking, we have no restrictions other than moral.

Even so, we decided to enforce the rule about *brahmacharya* only after all the inmates had been invited to discuss it and everyone had accepted its necessity. I did say, when reading out this rule, that those who could not or did not wish to observe it, could leave the Ashram.

The common kitchen is functioning satisfactorily at present.

I shall not inflict anything more on you. I have written even this unwillingly. Really speaking, you should not, in your present illness and from that distance, strain yourself thinking about the changes taking place here. Maybe it is morally wrong for you to do so.

How are you now? There is of course no question of your staying at Santa Cruz. You are fit enough to come here. You can take your treatment even here. The climate here is certainly better than there. If, however, you decide to come, I hope you will not think of going away again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11802

408. TELEGRAM TO HARILAL DESAI

[After *May 25, 1928*][1]

RECEIVED LETTER. IMPOSSIBLE PAY ENHANCED PORTION BEFORE ENQUIRY. ORIGINAL ASSESSMENT CAN BE PAID IF INDEPENDENT OPEN INQUIRY WITH RIGHT LEAD EVIDENCE CROSS QUESTION CROWN WITNESSES GRANTED FORFEITED LANDS RESTORED SATYAGRAHI PRISONERS DISCHARGED. PEOPLE WILL ACCEPT DECISION ARBITRATION COURT WIRE REPLY: BARDOLI VALLABHBHAI.

From a photostat: S.N. 12705

409. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

May 26, 1928

CHI. MAHADEV,

You send me enough every time. How did all of you imagine something which had not occurred to me even in my dreams? On that occasion, the day before yesterday, I did not aim my remarks against anyone in particular. I opened the subject in a general way as affecting all eighty people. Even in my mind I did not, and do not, blame, or think harsh things about those who cannot join the common kitchen; where was the question then of my saying such things in the meeting? It should be enough, therefore, if I say that there was no violence in my heart. I said harsh things only on that evening. On that occasion, I was not at all pained by the opposition. I was unhappy because of the weakness displayed by all. I liked Narahari's frankness very much indeed, but I did not like that he and others should have lost the use of their reason. If it was I who had deprived them of their reason, what a worthless fellow I must be? As I tried to think what my duty in these circumstances was, and as I realized it, I awoke and was immediately at peace. Do you

[1] The telegram was sent by Vallabhbhai Patel in reply to the addressee's letter of May 25. It was drafted by Gandhiji.

know that I have put on two pounds in nine days? Can you imagine what peace of mind this means?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11448

410. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 26, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have been receiving your letters regularly. I told Mahadev to write to you also which I hope he did. He has to go to Bardoli for two days in the week to help Vallabhbhai. He is therefore away today.

I always think of you, but never get the time to write to you. And I do not feel disturbed as I know you never expect letters from me.

My whole heart goes out to Gurudev.[1] I do hope that he will be strong enough to take up the voyage giving himself full rest on the Continent and return with renewed vigour. And I hope too that incidentally you would rest your wearied limbs and still more wearied brain. But I have my doubts about your being able to do so.

I am concentrating my attention on overhauling the Ashram and bringing it more in line with its ideals. We are therefore conducting the common kitchen on a large scale. About 80 sit together at meals where they attempt to consecrate themselves to more service. But more I must not say for want of time.

Did Mahadev tell you that I had taken up my abode in Maganlal's little room. And it makes me feel happy and enables me more fully to commune with his spirit.

With love,

MOHAN

From a photostat: S.N. 13392

[1] Tagore had fallen ill on his way to London to deliver the Hibbert lectures at the Oxford University.

411. LETTER TO SAMUEL R. PERRY

[After *May 26, 1928*]

DEAR FRIEND,

I was thankful for your letter of 26th May last. I do not remember having received the book *Does Civilization Need Religion*?[1] It has given me joy to have so many friends and sympathizers in the Far West.

Yours sincerely,

SAMUEL R. PERRY

From a photostat: S.N. 14043

412. PRIMARY EDUCATION-III

The problems of primary education or village education can be solved only when we thoroughly change the curricula of the Vidya Mandir and the University and when the teachers have understood my viewpoint.

Today we hesitate to effect certain changes for fear of losing pupils, for fear of public opinion or from a sense of false prestige. If we had no hesitation these Vidya Mandirs would produce a fine set of people who would serve the villages and this would somewhat atone for the sins of the cities.

The pupils of these Mandirs would become first-class spinners, carders and weavers; they would have the best knowledge of cotton-growing, they would know carpentry to suit the needs of the village; in other words, they would know how to make good spinning-wheels, they would know how to repair—if not make—bullock-carts, ploughs, etc., they would know sewing enough for the needs of the village, their handwriting would be as beautiful as pearls, they would have a basic ability to write, they would know Indian multiplication tables, they would be familiar with ancient literature like the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* and their modern spiritual meaning; they would know village games; they would be familiar with the rules of hygiene, they would be good home-doctors, i.e., they would be able to diagnose common ailments and prescribe remedies for them; they would know how

[1] By Reinhold Neibukr

to clean village dumping-grounds, ponds, wells and so on. In other words, education in these schools would be such that it enables the pupils to serve the villages in every way and the expenses incurred should be regarded as having been incurred on primary education. Only when we do so and are able to do so, can we be said to have truly entered the villages.

But directly such a question is raised, such a change brought about and such an ideal proclaimed, our Vidya Mandirs will become empty. Should such a contingency arise I would be willing to welcome it in the cause of truth. But so long as the ideal of the Vidyapith regarding village education remains what it is, not to do this would amount to untruth and betrayal.

However, it is my belief as well as my experience that if we remain steadfast in our objective, the public will in the end understand it and help in advancing it. If we looked into the causes of failures — so called or so considered—we would find that those who believed in the ideals were themselves disloyal, half-baked and half-hearted. He who doubts will perish, but people instead of taking his doom for what it is think that it was his ideal that was wanting in some way and so failed.

It is my firm belief that if our Vidya Mandirs had teachers with faith and a spirit of self-sacrifice, they would overflow with pupils. People can recognize a genuine thing. Often it seems to take time, but that is merely an illusion. It is a rule without an exception that the straight path is the quickest.

An institution which panders to people's weaknesses and their love of pleasure may fill in no time. So what? That certainly does not prove its success. One consequence may however flow from the acceptance of my viewpoint. Those pupils who have come in the hope of getting the same kind of education as is imparted in Government schools, those who have come in the hope of acquiring fitness to lead a city life, would be disappointed and leave our Mandirs. But it would be as well. We as well as they would be saved from a false situation, would be able to render true service to one another.

I should like to close this series by dilating a little more on the idea with which I started it. And then I hope to discuss a few questions I have before me on this subject.

If the view that a knowledge of the alphabet should be totally avoided during the first year of primary education is correct, some of its desirable consequences ought to be apparent in the Vinay Mandirs and the University.

Nowadays the cult of bookish knowledge has increased a great

deal. New books are being published every day. Anyone who has any command over language, anyone who has reflected even a little, becomes eager to put his ideas into print and believes that in so doing he is rendering national service. Consequently, an unbearable burden is placed on the brains of pupils and the pockets of their guardians. The pupil's intellect becomes confused. Their brains stuffed with a multitude of facts have no room for any original thought. And even facts instead of being properly arranged lie about in disorder in these brains like things in the house of an idle person. They are of no use either to themselves or to the public.

Hence in my opinion the numerous books that are published nowadays should not be given to the pupils. Even literate pupils should receive the larger part of their education orally from the teachers. They should read the minimum number of books but should reflect on what they read and while doing so translate into practice whatever they find acceptable. By doing so, the life of the pupils will become interesting, thoughtful, wise, steadfast, pure and energetic. Such education befits a poor nation and will prove useful to the pupils and the public.

Hence the solution to the serious problem before the Vidyapith depends on the capacity of its present teachers to imbibe its ideals and to make a mighty effort to put them into practice.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-5-1928

413. LETTER TO KARNAD SADASHIVA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

MY DEAR SADASHIVA RAO,

I hope you are now completely free from the after-effects of malaria. I hope to be at the Ashram practically throughout the year. But I never know when I might have to move out owing to unforeseen circumstances. When therefore you propose to bring your daughters here, you will ascertain my movements beforehand.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SADASHIVA RAO
KODAIBAIL
MANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13229

414. LETTER TO Y. ANJAPPA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The only thing I can suggest to you now is that you should send a statement of the account and expenditure of your Company and samples of all the khaddar you are producing and such other information that you can send from there to enable the All-India Spinners' Association expert to examine the condition of your concern.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. Y. ANJAPPA,
C/o YADGIR AND CO.
TOBACCO BAZAR
SECUNDERABAD (DECCAN)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13230

415. LETTER TO SATYANANDA BOSE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

The suggestion that you make is not new. It has been discussed from several points of view. But personally I have felt that the time has not come for us to take the lead. Meanwhile, good work in this direction is being done by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore. His work in contributing to an all-Asia awakening is of the greatest value. For us lesser men I feel that we would strengthen our position only by developing forces from within.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATYANANDA BOSE
78 DHARMATOLLA STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13231

416. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

MY DEAR C.R.,

I just read your pencil notes "Unsold Stock". The views about khadi are purely introductory. The views about Hindu-Muslim unity are entirely unseasonable and are likely to be misrepresented if not resented. You must therefore keep them under lock and key for the time being.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 13232

417. LETTER TO C. RANGANATHA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

When I was in Bangalore you had sent me the charkha turned out in the Government Workshop. You were turning out good spindles also if I remember rightly. Could you please ascertain through your Engineering Foreman whether there is any machine which turns out absolutely true spindles and whether that machine or any such machine can straighten out absolutely correctly spindles that may become bent or crooked? At the Ashram we are doing it without the use of a machine. It is a laborious process and can be mastered only by a few and imposes a terrific strain upon the eyes of the mender if he has to correct many in a day. I shall esteem any information that you can give me or procure for me in this matter.

I wonder what progress the wheel is making in your Department.

Yours sincerely,

C. RANGANATHA RAO SAHEB, ESQ.
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIES
GOVERNMENT WORKSHOPS, BANGALORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13233

418. LETTER TO GANGA PRASAD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I did read your book through. And whilst I could say that you had taken much trouble over it, you had not proved authorities to their original sources. But in this respect most of our authors are sinners. We are easily satisfied with proofs that would support our own preconceived notions or theories.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GANGA PRASAD
TEHRI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13234

419. LETTER TO BHOJRAJ KHUSHIRAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you have real purity of heart and real love for your father and for the girl to whom you are married, you will by force of purity and love bear down all opposition and convert the girl. Whereas if it is merely a matter of your not liking the girl and the proposed *brahmacharya*, a matter merely of convenience, it is your clear duty to carry your wife with you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHOJRAJ KHUSHIRAM
FISH MARKET
ROHRI (SIND)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13235

420. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

[*May 28, 1928*][1]

CHI. MANI,

You yourself are proving that it is not without reason that I think you to be a fool. I have never taken as gospel truth what Mirabehn tells me. That lady is pure-hearted. . . . Had you been here, I could have talked to you personally. As you were not here, I told Lakshmidasbhai. But I cherish the hope that one day you will stop being a fool and become wise.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro — Manibehn Patelne, pp. 66-7

421. DRAFT OF LETTER TO HARILAL DESAI[2]

[*May 28, 1928*]

DEAR,

A full wire was sent to you under my authority from Ahmedabad.[3] I enclose copy which speaks for itself. As probably our methods of work and service clash, what may be a satisfactory minimum to me may be an exorbitant demand in your estimation.

What can be the use of any inquiry if the enhancement is to be paid up? Government have ample security for its collection if in the event of a decision unfavourable to the people the enhanced rate is not quickly paid up by them.

Please note that the terms of reference will also have to be agreed upon. Any reference will not do.

It must be a point of honour for any self-respecting agent of the people to insist upon the release of prisoners and lands especially when they are illegally punished or forfeited.

Lastly you would best serve the cause by refraining from any action, if you cannot act strongly and do not feel the strength of

[1] As in the source

[2] The draft is in Gandhiji's hand. Mahadev Desai, reproducing the letter with a few verbal variations in *The Story of Bardoli,* says that it was sent by Vallabhbhai Patel.

[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Harilal Desai", After 25-5-1928.

the people as I do. Whilst I want to shut no door to an honourable settlement, I am in no hurry to close the struggle without an honourable settlement or without putting the people to the severest test they are capable of fulfilling. I would have a brave defeat rather than an ignominious compromise.

Now you will perhaps understand that I am not anxious to run to M[ahabaleshwar] or Poona. You will please therefore not send for me unless you think my presence indispensable.

From a photostat: S.N. 12705

422. *CABLE TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS*[1]

[On or after *May 29, 1928*]

SAIC
JOHANNESBURG

SETTLEMENT COVERED BY CORRESPONDENCE. STRONGLY ADVISE PUTTING FULL CASE BEFORE SASTRIJI AND THEN ACCEPT HIS GUIDANCE.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 11989

423. *LETTER TO SHANKARAN*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 30, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

You are quite right. We must not take parcels of foreign or mill-cloth for the Bardoli people, nor are they in need in that manner. They are not starving. The expenses are not connected with feeding or clothing them. The expenses incurred are in sup-

[1] This was in reply to the cable dated May 28 received the next day. It read: "Your cable to Hon. Sastri on illicit entrants not explicit. Did you obtain protection for all entrants in Transvaal who were in possession of registration certificates fraudulently obtained up to 1914? Could Congress be justified in declaring Government as having committed a breach of 1914 Settlement if Government now calls upon all fraudulent documents holders before Settlement to come forward for condonation? Please reply urgent" (S.N. 11989).

porting the larger number of volunteers and carrying on extensive propaganda.

Yours sincerely.

From a photostat: S.N. 13396

424. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 30, 1928

MY DEAR C. R.,

I did not argue with you about the reason for not publishing your tribute to the Abhoy Ashram. About the labourers, I think I gave you my reasons. About the Abhoy Ashram, your tribute is well deserved. But instead of benefiting them, the tribute was likely to rouse all kinds of jealousies and I felt that it was better not to rouse any jealousy.[1]

From a photostat: S.N. 13397

425. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 30, 1928

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your interesting letter. The milk diet will surely do you much good. I am sure that the hip-bath will benefit you. If Nikhil cannot bear hip-bath, try an earth bandage on the abdomen, six inches long and three inches in width. It might be good to keep Nikhil for a time on milk without sugar and distilled water only, giving him enema regularly every 24 hours if the bowels do not move. He should take as much milk as he can comfortably, but no more. I have been trying it here in a rather bad case with considerable success. You may consult a medical friend about this treatment.

[1] Rajagopalachari had in an article commended the efforts of the workers at Abhoy Ashram (Comilla) in connection with the riots in late 1927. *Vide* also "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 27-5-1928.

I hope you will succeed with Mr. Birla. I am anxious that he should help you far more for the soundness of your khadi propaganda than for the help you may render in his business. The latter is undoubtedly good and he should have all the assistance you can give. But khadi, if it is to succeed, can do so only on the strength of its merits and that of the business-like character of its organizations.

Did I tell you or send you an extract from one of Mr. Birla's letters in which, whilst he praised you much for your love of khadi and your immense self-sacrifice, he was not convinced of the soundness of the Pratishthan or of the khadi propaganda as you had explained it to him? This was more than a year ago. I tell you this to emphasize what you say in the following sentence in your letter: "If he is convinced that the work as carried on by me here deserves his fullest support, I do hope that he will spend lakhs as he spends thousands." He is a man like that. If he is convinced, he is quite capable of giving unlimited help.

With love,

BAPU

SJT. SATIS CH. DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR

From a photostat: G.N. 1593

426. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

SABARMATI,
Wednesday [*May 30, 1928*][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letters. Talk with the Principal gently from time to time about the uncleanliness and take measures to remove it. Here things are going on fairly well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 475. Courtesy: Vassumati Pandit

[1] ›m the postmark

427. BARDOLI ON TRIAL

One may hastily think that the Government is on its trial in Bardoli. But that would be a wrong opinion. The Government has been tried and found wanting scores of times. 'Frightfulness' is its code of conduct when its vital parts are affected. If its prestige or its revenue is in danger, it seeks to sustain it either by means fair or foul. It does not hesitate to resort to terrorism and cover it with unblushing untruths. The latest information that Pathans are now being posted in villages with instructions to surround the houses of the villagers day and night need not cause either surprise or anger. The surprise is that they have not yet let loose in Bardoli a punitive police and declared martial law. We ought by this time to know what a punitive police or martial law means. It is evident that by the latest form of 'frightfulness' the Government is seeking to goad people into some act of violence, be it ever so slight, to justify their enactment of the last act in the tragedy.

Will the people of Bardoli stand this last trial? They have already staggered Indian humanity. They have shown heroic patience in the midst of great provocation. Will they stand the greatest provocation that can be offered? If they will, they will have gained everything. Imprisonments, forfeitures, deportations, death, must all be taken in the ordinary course by those who count honour before everything else. When the terror becomes unbearable, let the people leave the land they have hitherto believed to be theirs. It is wisdom to vacate houses or places that are plague-infected. Tyranny is a kind of plague and when it is likely to make us angry or weak, it is wisdom to leave the scene of such temptation. History is full of instances of brave people having sought exile in preference to surrender to *zoolum*.

Let me hope however that such a step will not be necessary. One hears rumours of intercessions by well-meaning friends. They have the right, it may be even their duty, to intercede. But let these friends realize the significance of the movement. They are not to represent a weak cause or a weak people. The people of Bardoli stand for an absolutely just cause. They ask no favour, they seek only justice. They do not ask anyone to consider their case to be true. Their cause is to seek an independent, open, judicial inquiry and they undertake to abide by the verdict of

such a tribunal. To deny the tribunal is to deny justice which the Government have hitherto done. The means at the disposal of the people are self-suffering. In such a cause then minimum and maximum are almost convertible terms. Those who rely upon self-suffering for redress of a grievance cannot afford to rate it higher than it actually is. Those, therefore, who will intervene will harm the people and their cause, if they do not appreciate the implications of the struggle which cannot be lightly given up or compromised.

The public have a duty to perform by the satyagrahis. The response is already being made to Vallabhbhai's appeal for funds. It will be remembered that he refused to make the appeal as long as it was possible to refrain. The imprisonments have made the appeal imperative. I have no doubt that the response will be quick and generous. Equally necessary is the expression of enlightened public opinion. Let the public study the facts carefully and then cover the whole of the land with public meetings. I like the suggestion made by Sjt. Jairamdas that June 12th or any other suitable day should be proclaimed as Bardoli Day when meetings representing all parties may be held to pass resolutions and make collections in aid of the sufferers of Bardoli.

Young India, 31-5-1928

428. UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE SOUTH

Though untouchability appears in its worst and crudest form in the extreme south, that is Kerala, not much, at least not enough is being done by the reformers in the south to stamp out the evil. They will not even finance the movement to the extent that is necessary and possible for them. When, therefore, I started collections during my visit to Calicut amongst the people locally, I was glad to find that the South Indian colony in Bombay signified their intention of making a much more substantial collection than was made in Calicut and giving it to me when I passed through Bombay. In continuation of their promise a deputation came to me in Bombay during my recent visit and assured me that they had not forgotten it but that they were waiting for a favourable season for making the collections. One of them now writes:

> Many a young man with meagre salary is wasting his money in races and other city inducements, and if only we could wean them from

their present tendencies, much could be expected of them for their own benefit as well as for the benefit of the city of Bombay.

I hope that this reform movement will take deep root amongst the South Indian young men. I would advise them not to wait for a "favourable season". For any time is a favourable season for doing good work or begging or giving in a good cause. No cause can be better than the cause of the untouchables, the "unapproachables" and the "invisibles". If the young men from the south living in Bombay will only deny themselves some of the costly luxuries such as smoking, races, visits to teashops, etc., there will be a fat collection. Every religion enjoins the setting apart of a certain portion of one's income for charitable purposes. Unfortunately young men nowadays in most cases have given the go-by to religion. But if the practice of invariably allocating a certain portion of one's income to charitable purposes can be revived, causes such as those of the untouchables need never wait for a "favourable season".

Young India, 31-5-1928

429. LETTER TO S. N. MITRA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In my opinion, I have solved the question put by you through the suggestion I have made if it can be accepted because students while they are studying cannot do more or better than personally spinning and adopting khaddar for their use and wear. And if they cannot do this much, they are not likely to do anything else that may be of substantial benefit to the country.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13612

430. *LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 31, 1928

MY DEAR KANITKAR,

I had your letter. I am surprised that you have fixed a date for the meeting without consultation with Jamnalalji and then you expect him to attend the meeting. Surely it was due to him as President that you should have first conferred with him as to the date and the agenda and then issued your circular. Jamnalalji is now telegraphing to you to appoint another date when he will certainly attend.

With reference to the dispensary, all I told you was that there should be no difficulty in giving the Rashtriya Shikshan Mandal a lease of the premises, if the Council of the Association approved of the terms, etc. And this could happen only after an unconditional transfer of all the rights of the Swavalamban Pathashala in connection with the property and the Charkha Sangh.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. N. KANITKAR
341 SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 13613

431. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 31, 1928

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I was wondering when I should hear from you. I was therefore delighted when Girdhari handed me your letter.

The personal things you call petty are of as much interest to me as Bardoli, for I love to know all about co-workers. I understand your desire to throw up everything and rush to Bardoli, but there is no occasion for it as yet. When it does arrive, you will find me summoning you without the slightest hesitation. I know that like a good soldier that you are you will promptly respond to the summons. As it is, Vallabhbhai has enough workers.

I am glad that you are keeping much better health and I know that Gangabehn has shed all her moroseness. But tell her she must not forget her Gujarati. And if she is not doing so already she must help you in your work. She can do a great deal in going to girls' schools, organizing them and teaching them *takli*, etc.

The communal trouble is always and everywhere with us. I hope that it will not prove beyond your strength to cope with.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14475

432. LETTER TO MANAGER, IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA, AHMEDABAD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 1, 1928

THE MANAGER,
IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA
AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

Please hand to the bearer the sum of Rs. 65-1-8 in accordance with the receipt duly signed and enclosed herewith.

Yours faithfully,

Encl. 1 receipt

From a photostat: S.N. 13400

433. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 1, 1928

Do keep writing to me without expecting a letter from me.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 90

434. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
B. B. C. I. RLY.,
June 1, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

I have your letter. I have not yet actually received that letter of yours but I read it in the newspapers. It will produce a good impression. What shall we say or do about Harilal Desai? I am writing to Mahadev at Bardoli to send you a copy of

Vallabhbhai's letter. We must keep on doing our work. You are doing your part very well. Is not God Himself *Karta-harta*[1].

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14436

435. LETTER TO KEVALRAM

Saturday, before 4 a.m., June 2, 1928

BHAISHRI KEVALRAM,

I have your letter. I wanted to reply earlier but owing to lack of time I could not write till today. I hope your health has improved by now. You should take great pains to regain your health completely.

Knowing your nature, I fear that you will not be able to put up with the changes already made and the changes yet to be made in the Ashram.

To all those who take responsibility, both men and women, *brahmacharya* is essential.

Gradually everyone has started coming to the common kitchen. At present 90 dine there.

Labourers are gradually being reduced. Therefore everyone has to put in more manual labour.

There is talk about giving up buffalo milk and ghee and of living only on cow's milk produced at the Ashram.

If at all you come back you ought to be ready to do weaving.

The *Niyamavali*[2] is almost ready. I shall send you a copy as soon as it is.

Harihar and Taranath have left [the Ashram] because of the *brahmacharya* clause.

Both of you should think deeply before deciding to come and stay in the Ashram and I would be very happy if you could fully observe the rules.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 11803

[1] He who does and undoes
[2] Book of Rules; *vide* "Satyagraha Ashram", 14-6-1928.

436. *IMPORTANCE OF BARDOLI*

The lustre of the Bardoli Satyagraha increases day by day. Whose heart would not jump for joy at seeing Shri Vithalbhai Patel's letter which I have just received? A translation of it is published in this very issue. However, the fulfilment of the expectations with which he has written that letter lies in the hands of the Bardoli satyagrahis themselves. The Government's notice too has been published along with Shri Vithalbhai's letter. The gist of the note is that the so-called satyagrahis are no satyagrahis but cowards, and, because they are cowards, they secretly go and pay up their revenue dues. There are other such points mentioned in the note, which deserves to be considered by the satyagrahis. The Government has built its castle of hopes on the people's weaknesses, whereas the Himalayas of the hopes of the satyagrahis and their well-wishers like Vithalbhai rest on the satyagrahis' courage and determination. Being built by man, a castle crumbles. The Himalayas being a gift of God, will stand firm and if they should fall it would be the end of everything. It is indeed true that man forges his own fetters and he himself can break them. The *yajna* at Bardoli is intended to prove this.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-6-1928

437. *QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION–I*

Having written the three articles on primary education, it is now easy for me to answer the following questions:

Q. 1. You once said reducing the burden imposed by English on students would amount to saving so many years of their life. If we interpret national education to mean nation-wide education, how much would be the burden imposed upon society? How much, that is, in terms of years?

A. Let me first explain the meaning of the phrase "reducing the burden imposed by English". It is not my contention that students should not be taught English at all. But let us learn English as a foreign language in the same way that a Frenchman learns it. If we learn English only to that extent, we shall not have to carry the burden of thinking in English, speaking or writing it

with correctness. In my opinion, at least five years of the student's life are wasted in carrying this burden. Not only this. Because of the strain caused during these five years, his capacity to think is affected, he becomes enfeebled in the body and, like blotting-paper absorbing ink, he starts merely imitating in a superficial manner. How much a person would learn if he spent five years in getting the knowledge he needs through his mother-tongue! How much time he would save thereby! He would readily learn the best thoughts in his own language and be spared the burden of learning the difficult pronunciation of a foreign language.

Q. 2. Child education at one end and university education at the other are very expensive. Can these both be included in national education? Alternatively, do you have any scheme for providing equally solid education at a lower cost?

A. I have tried to show in those three articles how child education could become inexpensive, almost self-supporting. If we can fashion a university education which will aid primary education, it can be made inexpensive and students can acquire the necessary knowledge useful to the nation. If the phrase "solid education" implies education similar to that provided by Government schools, the question is irrelevant, as I do not regard that education as solid. The education given in the national university or primary schools is distinct from that provided by Government schools and is very often of a novel and original kind. It is therefore solid in its own way.

Q. 3. Advocates of tradition try to inculcate in pupils devotion for the guru. They tell the pupils that learning can be acquired only by pleasing the guru and in no other manner; that if one does not please the guru, does not serve him and attend on him he may out of slyness withhold knowledge; that one should always be flattering him to keep him from being wicked in this way. Is this a definition of *gurubhakti*?

A. I am a believer in *gurubhakti*. However, every teacher cannot become a guru. The guru-disciple relationship is spiritual and spontaneous, it is not artificial, it cannot be created through external pressure. Such gurus are still to be found in India. (It should not be necessary to warn that I am not speaking here of gurus who give *moksha*.) The question of flattering such a guru just does not arise. The respect towards such a guru can only be natural, the guru's love is also of the same kind. Hence the one is always ready to give and the other is always ready to receive. Common knowledge, on the other hand, is something

which we can accept from anyone. I can learn a lot from a carpenter with whom I have no connection and of whose faults I am aware; I can acquire a knowledge of carpentry from him just as I purchase goods from a shopkeeper. Of course, a certain type of faith is required even here. I cannot learn carpentry from a carpenter if I do not have faith in his knowledge of that subject. *Gurubhakti* is an altogether different matter. In character-building, which is the object of education, the relationship between the guru and his disciples is of utmost importance and where there is no *gurubhakti* in its pure form, there can be no character-building.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-6-1928

438. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 3, 1928

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I am enclosing herewith a draft of the reply to the Governor. [The struggle] is developing well. May you live long. Write or wire when you need me. There are constant reports that you may be arrested. You will get some rest if you are. If you are not, haven't we taken a vow never to rest?

BAPU

VALLABHBHAI PATEL
SWARAJ ASHRAM
BARDOLI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 13

439. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

SABARMATI,
Silence Day [*June 4, 1928*][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I receive your letters regularly. You should acknowledge receipt of mine. I am just not able to write regularly. I am writing this at four o'clock in the morning. The bell has started ringing now.

There is scope enough yet to improve your handwriting. I read out one of your letters to the sisters here. As far as possible go to bed before 9 and get up at 4. Do you take exercise or not? Use some insecticide for killing bugs. If you can make any suggestions about keeping things clean, do so. How many Gujarati girls are there? Now 90 people dine in the kitchen. The number keeps on increasing, but others must be writing to you about all this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 476. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

440. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SABARMATI,
June 4, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

You are posting me regularly with the events on your side. They help me much.

I am writing this week a cautious article[2] in *Young India* on the two judgments. If possible, I shall send you an advance copy.

Pragji has written a long letter to me. He is a good man. I have acted upon your cablegram and cabled[3] to our friends there that they should rely on you for guidance.

I do hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 8815

[1] From the postmark

[2] *Vide* "Indians in South Africa", 7-6-1928.

[3] *Vide* "Cable to South African Indian Congress", On or after 29-5-1928.

441. BARDOLI DAY

SABARMATI,
June 5, 1928[1]

I hope that the Bardoli Day, that is, 12th June next, will be observed throughout India in an earnest and becoming manner. The best way to do so is wherever it is possible to suspend all work and devote the day to collection of funds for the satyagrahi sufferers and for helping Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and his band of workers in carrying on the struggle, and have mass meetings where further collections should be made and resolutions passed supporting the demand of the satyagrahis and condemning the coercive measures of the Government. I do not think that there should be a call for volunteers, because Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel has already enough for his requirements. Offers have been received from all parts of the country. And if more are required, I have no doubt that there are volunteers ready all over the country. Friends from Maharashtra, Sind and elsewhere have already sent me messages that Vallabhbhai could rely upon almost an unlimited number. There may be unwarrantable optimism in this language, but after due allowance is made, there is no doubt that enough men and women, if necessary, will be forthcoming when and if the call comes.

Young India, 7-6-1928

[1] The date is from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6-6-1928, which carried a brief report of this item.

442. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

Tuesday [June 5, 1928][1]

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Enclosed herewith is Sumant's letter. Now I do not know what to do. I see there is need to reply to his charge. I shall call him here if you wish. But it would be better if you yourself talked it out with him if he has not altogether lost good sense.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4705. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

443. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

ASHRAM,
Wednesday, Jeth Vad 4 [June 6, 1928][2]

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

I have received Swami's letter. I feel that we certainly cannot agree to the condition that the farmers should from today put into the bank the money which they will have to pay if the decision of the committee to be appointed goes against them. I see Vallabhbhai's as well as the farmers' lack of trust in it. At present the farmers are putting up a fight saying that the enhanced revenue is unjustifiable. The Government has no reason to believe that they would not pay or Vallabhbhai would not help them even if the decision of the committee by which they would themselves agree to abide went against them. Therefore, at least for the sake of our self-respect, we cannot agree to the condition that we deposit the money in the bank. All the terms of agreement will be made in public. Even Vallabhbhai's terms of agreement will be made in public. The people will certainly pay up the revenue without the additional amount, that is, nearly five lakhs. To collect the remaining money should be very easy for the Government. I smell a rat in the talk of somehow recovering the additional amount first. It will never satisfy us if they appoint a

[1] From the postmark

[2] *Jeth Vad* 4 seems to be an error for *Jeth Vad* 3 which was a Wednesday and corresponded to June 6.

committee in name only. The committee should be impartial and open. We have not the slightest right to be so spiritless after the people have shown so much strength. If ultimately the people are to lose, they will do so. We should have no hand in their discomfiture.

You can judge better than I when and at whose invitation you should go to Mahabaleshwar. I do not think that now I have left any part of Swami's letter unanswered.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

444. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

ASHRAM,
Wednesday, Jeth Vad 4 [June 6, 1928][1]

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

I have your letter. One reply to it is that if any occupation goes against morality, it must be given up. The other is that there are only four varnas and there is nothing wrong with any of them. Therefore one should stick to one's own varna and give up whatever immoral practices one's parents might have adopted, so that one could take up some other occupation whilst yet belonging to one's own varna.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5572

445. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM,
Wednesday, Jeth Vad 4 [June 6, 1928][2]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I do get your letters. You must have got mine.[3] Gangabehn and Manibehn have gone to Bombay. At present more than 90 people dine in the common kitchen. Lilabehn too has come

[1] From the discussion regarding the vārnas, continued in his letter to the addressee dated 23-6-1928, it would seem that this letter too was written in 1928, in which year *Jeth Vad* 4 corresponded to June 6. Wednesday however was *Jeth Vad* 3.

[2] From the postmark

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 4-6-1928.

here for 15 days. Bhai Chimanlal also dines there. The work is proceeding well. Balkrishna is here at present. Chhaganlal and Prabhudas paid me a visit yesterday. We get buffalo's milk and mostly buffalo's ghee only; therefore the question of giving up ghee in the Ashram is under discussion. You should find some simple way to overcome the problem of latrines. In any case earth must be used at the end.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 578. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

446. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

June 6, 1928

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your letter. I too hold that *asanas* are beneficial. But my experience is that specific knowledge is needed to choose the *asanas*.

It now seems that I shall remain in the Ashram during August. Do come.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRIYUT GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA PARK
BALLYGUNGE
CALCUTTA

From Hindi: C.W. 6159. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

447. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL VORA

Jyaishtha Krishna 3 [June 6, 1928][1]

BHAI CHIMANLALJI,

Your letter. Five articles mean just five and no more. If two articles are taken as medicine they have to be counted as two. Salt is not a separate article. My present diet consists of goat's milk, vegetable, wheat, lemon and almonds. Turmeric is counted separately. If something is added to quinine even that would make two items, and so forth.

[1] From the postmark

My belief is that by human effort one can within limits lengthen or shorten one's life. Ultimately it is God who does everything but He uses someone as His instrument.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI CHIMANLAL GULABCHAND VORA
SHRIMALI MOHALLA
RATLAM

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6300

448. THE TWO SIDES

The communique of the Government of Bombay on the Bardoli Satyagraha is in keeping with the letter of the Commissioner, Northern Division, which I had the painful duty of criticizing only the other day.[1] This communique opens with a repetition of the insult that Sjt. Vallabhbhai and his co-workers are outsiders. Instead of being described as such they are described as "persons who do not reside there" (in Bardoli). The communique then shamelessly refers to the fact that when the attempt at distraint had failed, the Government resorted to an "organized attachment of buffaloes and movable property". Sjt. Vallabhbhai's publicity department has shown what the attachment of buffaloes has meant. The communique further triumphantly refers to the fact that "forty Pathans were obtained to assist the Mamlatdar and Mahalkaris in the work of attachment and the care of animals attached". The publicity department has again shown us what the introduction of Pathans has meant. Even without the assistance of that department, we could have guessed the meaning of this introduction. Whether it is the Government or private people who employ Pathans, people know why the services of these friends are enlisted. Lest, however, the accepted meaning might be attached to the enlistment of Pathans, the communique proceeds: "Unfounded allegations have been made against these Pathans. Government are satisfied that their conduct has been exemplary in every respect". Who does not laugh at this explanation? If, as the Government contend, the Pathans have been employed in order to replace the Vethias who are alleged to be under threat of excommunication, it is relevant to ask why Pathans have been

[1] *Vide* "The Only Issue", 17-5-1928.

chosen instead of Vethias from other places or some other mild-mannered men. The Government pooh-pooh the notion as incredible that "five parties, each of five Pathans, working under the eye of a responsible officer of Government, can terrorize a population of 90,000 persons". Again experience of the people of India shows what one Pathan armed with authority can do in a whole village. It is no doubt humiliating to think that Pathans or anybody else can terrorize large masses of men, but unfortunately it is a fact of daily occurrence in this fear-ridden, terror-stricken India. And I would consider the Bardoli struggle to be well fought, even without any further result, if the people of Bardoli shed their fear of men and authority and turn the Pathans into friends.

But the communique is not satisfied with a recital of the coercive measures taken in respect of movable property; it refers to forfeiture of lands. The Government are not ashamed to own that "up to date of the communique 1,400 acres of such land have been disposed of under forfeiture notices and that about 5,000 acres more will be disposed of in due course unless the arrears due thereon be sooner paid," and unnecessarily add that "such lands once disposed of would never be returned". There are several other statements in the communique which are open to criticism, but I forbear.

The communique announces some insulting accommodation for those who would pay the assessment on or before the 19th instant. It is for the people of Bardoli to return the only answer open to self-respecting men and women. When they embarked upon this struggle, they knew the cost of resistance. I have little doubt that they will not fail to render a good account of themselves when the last heat of the struggle commences as they did during the opening stages.

In marked contrast to the communique comes the letter addressed to me by Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel announcing a handsome monthly donation of Rs. 1,000 so long as the struggle lasts. Throughout his brilliant career as the Speaker of the Assembly Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel has upheld the rights of the people. Occupancy of office has not in the slightest degree made him lose his head or compromise the honour of his country. Whilst he has acted with strict impartiality, he has neither hesitated nor been afraid to act on behalf of the people wherever the holding of his office has permitted him to do so. The alien rulers have established a slavish tradition that those who are in the pay of the Government must in all circumstances refrain from showing their sympathy

for the people when the latter engage in any fight with the Government, and this even when the Government act in a manner contrary to laws promulgated by themselves. Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel has broken through that unhealthy and slavish tradition and has been able to do so because he has accepted his office not for its honour, not for the salary it brings him, but, as he puts it in his letter, as a trust on behalf of those who have elected him to the office. It must be remembered that the Speaker is not a statutory servant of the Crown. He is a popular representative and without taking an active part in political controversies and the like, he has a perfect right to show his sympathy for the people. Having been elected as the Speaker, Sjt. Vithalbhai ceased to be a party man; but he did not and could not cease to be a representative of the combined parties who called him to preside over their deliberations. I therefore tender him my congratulations for the manly stand he has taken up on behalf of the people. If entry into legislative bodies created by the alien Government can be held at all justifiable, he has shown to those who may enter these bodies and accept office the way to act nobly and fearlessly.

Young India, 7-6-1928

449. CASH v. *CREDIT*

The Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, writes as follows:

> The credit sales of the provincial branches of the Association amount to Rs. 1,54,488-13-8½ representing 15 per cent of the capital invested in these branches, and this is in spite of the resolution passed by the Council putting a ban generally on credit sales. This is largely due to the misgivings of our workers. They fear that the sales will go down if credits are completely stopped. The fear is groundless. The Tamilnad has done away with all credit sales, and it after all shows the largest sales amongst all the khadi depots throughout India. You may inform your various branches and the public that past experience shows that khadi work loses through these credit sales as well by reason of the purchasers making default as by reason of the locking up of capital which is none too large.

I entirely endorse the warning uttered in the foregoing letter. So long as khadi remains an infant national industry requiring delicate nursing and protection from the public, there should be no credit sales in khadi depots. We must simply rely upon the sup-

port of a patriotic public and if we cannot command cash sales, we may regard the disinclination to pay cash as a sign that khadi does not enjoy the benefit of public protection. But my own personal experience throughout my extensive wanderings has shown that people gladly pay cash for khadi when they require and receive credit in respect of their other purchases. To pay cash for khadi that the people want is the least protection that khadi is entitled to. Managers of sale depots must not be afraid of losing custom if they do not give credit. They must rely upon their ability to carry on propaganda in their neighbourhood in favour of khadi for commanding cash sales. And in no case are they warranted in giving credits in spite of instructions from headquarters to the contrary. Discipline demands that if they have no confidence in themselves to carry on khadi depots successfully without being able to give credit, they should give such notice to the head office and ask to be relieved of their charge. The head office should be trusted to know what is best on the whole for turning khadi into a business proposition as quickly as possible.

Young India, 7-6-1928

450. INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Two very important cases have been decided recently by the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa. One of them, *S. B. Medh* v. *Immigrants Appeal Board*, though important in itself, affects only a few special cases of Indians who received exemption certificates under the Smuts-Gandhi Settlement as being educated Indians. It was contended by the Union Government that the exemptions were not complete. I need not go into greater detail. The Court has now found that the exemptions were complete in the sense submitted on behalf of the appellant.

The other case, *Daya Purshottam* v. *Immigrants Appeal Board*, has far-reaching consequences for the Indian settlers. The judgment in this case lays down that section 5 of Act 37 of 1927 does not possess retrospective effect. Hence certificates obtained by fraudulent means do not become cancellable at the will of the Immigration Board or the Immigration Officer. If this judgment stands, holders of certificates even though they were originally tainted will remain undisturbed. This is a great victory for the settlers. I have no desire to see fraud in any shape or form protected. But the case of these settlers is not one of ordi-

nary fraud. In many cases, at least up to 1914 the Asiatic Office was a corrupt department and it made it practically impossible for *bona-fide* entrants to enter unless they resorted to some crooked means so as to satisfy the greed of the Asiatic officers. Where Government officials are privy to fraud, it ill becomes that Government to punish the helpless victims.

Cables from the South African settlers tell me that the Government are appealing against the two decisions. I venture to suggest to the Union Government that it would be more in keeping with their conciliatory attitude and the spirit of the new understanding that they do not seek to deprive the Indians of the advantage the two appeals give them. The judgment in the first appeal protects only a few individuals. And in their case there is no question of fraud. The judgment in the second appeal protects a fair number of those who are already in the Union. It will be no serious calamity for the Union to have to absorb a few more Indians than the Government had counted upon. The Union Government should remember that these appeals are very expensive affairs especially for the poor Indians. It is hardly fair for an organized powerful Government to take successful citizens through appellate courts and thus exhaust them into submission or worse. It may be well to possess a giant's strength, but it is admittedly wrong to use it against dwarfs.

The settlers will do well not to set much store by their success in these two appeals. They have in Sjt. Sastri a great friend and adviser. Let them press their suit as much as ever before him but having done so let them abide by his advice. He will use in their behalf all the influence he has acquired with the Union Government. I welcome their cables. I appreciate the trust they repose in me. But my power to help them from this distance and in the changed circumstances I found myself in 1920 is much too limited to be of value. Their strength therefore lies in their unity, moderation and reliance upon one who is not merely Agent General for the Government of India but is their true and powerful friend and guide.

Young India, 7-6-1928

451. LETTER TO SIR KISHUN PARSHAD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

It gave me joy to hear from the lips of Babu Rup Narayan of the great interest you have been taking in the khadi movement and of the fact that you had already commenced spinning yourself. I commend to your attention the manner in which the movement is being handled by the Mysore State. I have no doubt that if it is properly taken up it will be a blessing to the poor agriculturists in the Nizam's Dominion.

Babu Rup Narayan tells me that I am to expect a sample of your yarn and your eldest son's. I am looking forward to the receipt of the samples. And if you will permit me, they will go to our Museum where samples of yarn spun by distinguished persons are collected.

Yours sincerely,

H. E. MAHARAJAH SIR KISHUN PARSHAD
YAMINUS-SULTANATH
CITY PALACE
HYDERABAD (DECCAN)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13614

452. DRAFT OF LETTER TO SIR LESLIE WILSON

[*June 7, 1928*][1]

I thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of the 4th instant.

It is evident from your letter that we are working at cross purposes. I fail to see why because I hold an important public position, I might not write to another holding an equally important public position a friendly letter drawing his attention to what I might consider to be a serious breach of law or official duty on the part of his officials. The fact that the holding of the position

[1] This was enclosed with the following item.

I occupy prevents me from entering into proofs of statements I might make does not mean that I have no warrant for making such statements or that I might not make them confidentially to a fellow official and that in the public interest.

If you will re-read my letter of the 4th instant, you will find therein that I have not said that I have no proof of the statements I have made; on the contrary, I have given you the sources of my information. Is it not up to you now to adopt the only possible course, if you really want to have those statements proved, namely, to appoint a committee of enquiry? Tell me how otherwise you are to be satisfied about the correctness or otherwise of the statements I have made to you.

With reference to the third paragraph of your letter, there is no question of my not believing you. I simply quoted your own letter to show that at the time you wrote to me that letter, you had made no enquiry. You evidently seem to think that the letter of the Commissioner is not open to objection, whereas I venture to suggest that it is highly offensive and if it does not set at nought all law, it does set at nought all order and decency and is bereft of all official responsibility. And the last paragraph of your letter of the 17th ultimo, which is clear, shows that you had made no enquiry at the time you wrote that letter into the allegations made by me.

As to the fourth paragraph of your letter, let me assure you that my letter was in no way written in haste. It was a deliberate statement made by me with the full sense of my responsibility.

In conclusion, let me ask you these two questions:

Do you propose to take any notice of the letter of the Commissioner, Northern Division, to which I have drawn your attention?

Do you propose to make any enquiry into the allegations to which I have drawn your attention?

Statements which I believe and for which ample proof can be given if the committee of enquiry is appointed are as follows:

(1) In many cases of attachment no *panchnamas* were prepared, no receipts given and no account was rendered of the property attached.

(2) Buffaloes were attached without identifying the owners.

(3) Property exempted from attachment under Civil Procedure Code has also been attached.

(4) Attachment during night.

(5) House-breaking by breaking through hedges, removing doors off their hinges, etc.

(6) Torturing of milch cattle and selling them for a trifle. Buffaloes valued at Rs. 1,200 were sold for Rs. 216.

(7) A Pathan caught in the act of stealing.

(8) Pathans molesting and acting indecently before women.

(9) Pathans otherwise wounding the susceptibilities of the people.

(10) Arbitrary notifications by the Collector or the District Superintendent.

(11) Irregular procedure of the trials of satyagrahis.

I have taken only a few samples out of many supplied to me.

I need hardly say that whilst my letters being purely of a friendly nature have been meant to be confidential, if you think that the correspondence between us may be made public, I have on my part no objection whatsoever thereto.

H. E. SIR LESLIE WILSON
GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 11447

453. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 7, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

Herewith a draft of the reply to be sent to the Governor. You may make any change in it you want to. I see no need to send everything that Swami has put down. I have taken some of the points from it. I very much wish that the entire correspondence is published; but how is that to be done? The Governor seems to be binding himself more and more with every letter that he writes.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14441

454. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

[After *June 7, 1928*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your wire. I have taken whatever was good. Lack of humility would be the least reason. I did not at all like the style of the article. I shall analyse it when you come. This article has almost the same drawback which disqualified Swami's. But I do not know if you have a different opinion or expectation about your article; therefore if I have erred in my estimate, we shall both have to put up with it.

Vallabhbhai will be pleased to see Rameshwar Birla's letter.

I enclose herewith the Governor's letter to Vithalbhai along with the draft of a reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have destroyed those of your letters which were fit to be destroyed. You will see them all here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11447

455. *LETTER TO J. B. PENNINGTON*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I know that however much we may differ, if I am ever able to come to England, I am sure of a hearty greeting from you.

A friend did write to me saying that I should not reject the advances of Sir John Simon if he wanted to see me, that he was a simple-minded, honest Englishman, who never stood on ceremonies and was likely to seek me out. If he had done so, I

[1] From the reference to the draft reply to Governor's letter, it is clear that this was written after June 7.

would certainly have gladly greeted him at the Ashram. I was uninterested, as I still am, in the Commission. And, therefore, I did not feel called upon to seek an interview with him. You know the geography of Western India. Ahmedabad is in an out-of-the-way corner, and therefore I may not expect busy people like Sir John Simon to go out of their beat to see individuals like me who can be of no assistance to them in their work.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14325

456. LETTER TO SVENSKA KYRKANS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

MESSRS SVENSKA KYRKANS
DIAKONISTYRELSES BOKFORLAG
STOCKHOLM 7

GENTLEMEN,

With reference to your letter of the 8th February, you are at liberty to publish an unabridged Swedish translation of the first volume of the "Story of My Experiments with Truth".

Any payment you make will be utilized for the furtherance of some of my public activities.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 15034

457. LETTER TO T. DE MANZIARLY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the magazines for which I thank you.

I take you at your word and send you this "very short" article if you will call it so.

"My belief in the possibility of Hindu-Muslim union is un-

changeable in spite of the fact that if anyone were to ask for my reasons for that belief I should not be able to give them."

Yours sincerely,

MADAME T. DE MANZIARLY
21 RUE DU CHEMIN VERT
COURBEVOIE
SEINE

From a photostat: S.N. 14324

458. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Our course is clear. If the Congress Exhibition is to be a replica of the Madras Exhibition, there should be no khadi exhibition at the time of the Congress.[1] I have not yet heard from Mr. Sen Gupta.

I am anxious to know the medical report about Nikhil. He ought to pull through under the hip-bath treatment, perfect rest and milk diet.

I send herewith an extract from Sir Daniel Hamilton's letter. Do you know anything of the property in Sunderbans?[2] And if you do, what is the condition of the people there and how many inhabit the property?

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8916

[1] For Gandhiji's views on the Madras Exhibition, *vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 439-41.

[2] In his letter dated May 16, 1928, Sir Daniel had written: "On my property in Sunderbans of Bengal I want to make handicraft compulsory as well as book-learning. I want the children to be taught spinning, weaving, carpentry and improved agriculture."

459. LETTER TO MRS. RACHEL M. RUTTER[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. What you say about Miss Mayo is only too true. There are people who will not stop at anything however untruthful it may be.

I am taking the liberty of quoting in *Young India* that part[2] of your letter which refers to Miss Mayo. I am not making use of your name.

Mr. Andrews is just now in Colombo, nursing the Poet who on his way to Europe had to disembark owing to sudden illness.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. RACHEL M. RUTTER
IRESON LANE
WINCANTON
SOMERSET, ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 14323

460. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

Jamnalalji has passed on your letter to me. What shall I write to you! Do not lose patience, be calm and do not insist on doing anything that is beyond your capacity. We still have a saintly man like Shankerrao, consult him and act or if you stay in Wardha do what Jajuji advises.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 195

[1] English missionary who had visited Gandhiji when he was convalescing at Juhu, Bombay, in 1924

[2] This was published in *Young India*, 28-6-1928, under the title "An Impertinence".

461. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

June 9, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I am getting all your letters. If no other arrangement can be made about a latrine and if there is difficulty in taking an enema, use a commode and clean it yourself. It would be cheaper to get one made there than going in for an English article. Commodes are used in many houses in Dehra Dun. Make whatever improvements you can without creating any ill will.

Chi. Kamala did not open your trunk. It was Gangabehn who had it opened for something and at that time she asked Prabhavati to see if there was a *thali*[1] in it. Gangabehn had entrusted to Prabhavati the job of opening the trunk. I don't see in this any cause for you to feel unhappy. Kamala says that she never ransacked the trunk. She has told me to inquire of Prabhavati and further to confirm it and I intend to do so. But I do not think that Kamala has hidden anything. I shall question Prabhavati too for your satisfaction.

The work here goes on satisfactorily. Now it is three o'clock in the morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Improve your Hindi a great deal.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 477. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

[1] Metal plate

462. LETTER TO TAIYABALI

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 9, 1928

BHAISHRI TAIYABALI,

I have your letter. I congratulate you on your resigning your job for the sake of your self-respect.

Articles on khadi are published in *Navajivan* from time to time. But it would not be proper to write articles bearing on individual communities.

Put up with criticism from your relatives. What profession have you taken up now?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From Gujarati: C. W. 7758. Courtesy: Lalchand Jeychand Vora

463. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM,
June 9, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. Nikhil has come to Sodepur; in a way I am glad. I am inclined to believe that a milk diet, hip-baths, fresh air and perfect rest will cure him. In any case, don't worry. What God has given He can take away when it pleases Him. How is Tarini? Other patients suffering from tuberculosis should, if they can afford it, be sent to a hill-station.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1657

464. LETTER TO KEDARNATH BANNERJEE

[After *June 9, 1928*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I have no doubt that even if it should cause temporary pain to your father you should leave him and go where you can earn a decent livelihood so as to help your people.

Yours sincerely,

KEDARNATH BANNERJEE
NAYA GANJ
CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14056

465. QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION-II

Q. 4. Nowadays the teacher's task has in fact been reduced to that of a postman or a foreman. It consists only of placing books written by educationists in the hands of pupils and of supervising whether they make use of these or not. In addition to this, what other skill do you expect the teachers to possess?

The science of education has been developed to the extent where the term 'teacher' may be defined as one who can clarify the meaning of difficult passages and prepare abstracts of long chapters. Why should we not now accept this ideal?

A. I keep on feeling that teachers in the true sense of the word are essential, no matter how good the text-books are. A good teacher would never content himself with summarizing or explaining the meaning of difficult passages. Time and again, he would go beyond the text-books and present his subject to the pupil in a vivid manner in the same way as an artist does. The best text-book may be compared to the best photograph. However, just as a painting by an artist although second rate is invariably superior to a photograph, similar is the case with a real teacher. A true teacher introduces the pupil to his subject, creates in him interest for the subject and enables him to under-

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated June 9, 1928.

stand it independently. In my opinion, one who explains difficult passages and prepares abstracts can never be regarded a good teacher. Our endeavours should be to turn out true teachers who could be infused with a spirit of service. It is not that stray instances of such teachers are not to be found even today.

Q. 5. At the time of the educational conference at Broach you said although primary education might be free, it should not be compulsory and that even a good thing should not be compulsorily enforced on a nation which was not independent. If today the educational structure were to come within your control, would you or would you not see that your educational system in which khadi and other national crafts have a place of primary importance was made compulsory?

A. I don't think I have as yet the courage to make compulsory the educational system that I have conceived. I think our country has no need of it for many years to come, because although primary education ought to be made compulsory, many conditions that go before it remain to be fulfilled. I feel that if we put before the people the type of education that will further their growth and also meet with their approval, they will readily welcome it without any effort on our part.

Q. 6. Do you believe that teachers have a right to give any kind of religious instruction which is in accordance with their viewpoint?

A. Teachers who teach under a common administrative system have no right to impart religious instruction according to their own viewpoint.

As in the case of other subjects, religious instruction too must be given in accordance with the scheme provided by the administrative authorities. Every teacher will have his own method of teaching within that framework; however, such instruction may be imparted only in accordance with the ideals that have been laid down by the authorities with regard to religion. It is true that instruction in other subjects can be imparted by one who has read certain books on these subjects. That is not the case of religious instruction. It is never given through books. The method of imparting this instruction is quite different from that followed in the case of other subjects. Whereas the latter is communicated through the intellect, the former can proceed from one's heart alone. Hence so long as the teacher is not steeped in religion, he should not impart religious instruction. Although in this manner the means of imparting religious instruction are different, nevertheless it is necessary to have a certain amount

of understanding about the way in which it is to be done. In other words, one cannot impart education which would encourage violence where non-violence has been accepted as the supreme dharma. Or, instruction antagonistic to other religions cannot be imparted where the ideal of love, tolerance and compassion towards all religions has been accepted as the ideal. In short, there can be no place for a state of anarchy with regard to religious instruction where its necessity has already been accepted.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-6-1928

466. *THE YAJNA AT BARDOLI*

The satyagraha being offered at Bardoli is certainly a kind of *yajna*. All altruistic work is directed towards the welfare of others. Since the peasants of Bardoli are fighting not for their individual interest but for the benefit of society and for their self-respect, it is a *yajna*. Offerings are made every day. The news of the latest of these has just come in. It is as follows:[1]

This can be regarded as a fitting rejoinder to the Government's notification. I congratulate the patels and the talatis on showing courage in this manner. I hope that they will remain steadfast in this decision and will never repent of it.

It is imperative that people get over the glamour of Government service. Anyone whose limbs are intact and who is industrious finds no difficulty in earning his bread honestly. If instead of welcoming the opportunity to rob people which a Government employee gets, if we considered it as something wrong and avoided it, the limbs of the Government would be weakened. Our own people are the limbs of the Government. If they get out, its ammunition and aeroplanes would be rendered useless.

The Government's notification is full of untruth, arrogance and contempt for the people. I hope no peasant of Bardoli will be lured by the temptations it holds out.

The Government has fully exploited and is still exploiting the fourfold method of *sama, dama, danda, bheda*.[2] Amongst these, punish-

[1] This is not translated here. It stated that about 40 patels and eight talatis had resigned in the two preceding months as a protest against the Government's policy of repression. In their latest notification the Government threatened to take stricter action.

[2] Appeasement, bribery, (threat of) punishment and divisiveness

ment is the least blameworthy since we can recognize it. Having endured it, we can spare ourselves its dread.

The other three are subtle. These involve temptations. Just as a fish while trying to lick the bait on the hook gets caught in it, unsuspecting and timid people get caught up in these poisonous triple strands. The temptation offered to people who would pay up their revenue before the 19th of June constitute the policy of bribery. The people have a right to expect that not one peasant will break his pledge by succumbing to this bribe. Let Bardoli ensure that the stamp of courage and forbearance which it has impressed upon the whole of India is never erased. The policy of *bheda* is even more hateful than bribery.

Many kinds of rumours are afloat. Some say the Government desires a settlement, others claim that the people are weakening; yet others say that people have started secretly paying up revenue dues; some others say that but for fear of ostracism, people are prepared to pay up their dues; some assert that people refrain from paying up their dues for fear of the outsiders like Vallabhbhai and his colleagues, and that these poor people would like to pay up their revenue and live in peace.

All this amounts to a policy of *bheda*. I do not mean to say that anyone specifically plans this so. But a policy based on these four tactics operates by itself. All those who are in the Government's service know that rise in their salaries and their position is implicit in their being amenable to the policy of the Government. Bhishma, Drona and others too had to point to their stomach before Yudhishthira.

Hence, as the movement gathers momentum, the policy of alienation will be intensified. All satyagrahis should avoid this snare. They should give credence to no rumour. They should put before Sardar whatever they come to hear and should then forget all about it. A satyagrahi should have only one consolation. His task is accomplished when his pledge is fulfilled. More he should not ask for and with less he should not be satisfied. He should be resolved to sacrifice what is dearest to him at the altar of his pledge. What could such an individual have to do with rumours? Moreover, need he be misled or tempted by the words of anyone who has the audacity to make an outsider of their beloved Sardar? Sardar will tell them when a settlement is about to be made.

And he should not be misled by the talk of people secretly paying up their dues. A few weak individuals are to be found in every community. It has been my experience that although only

a few give in secretly, their number is exaggerated. It therefore befits a satyagrahi not to believe this talk of secret paying-up. He should believe that others also have the same strength that he himself has. But he should not feel despondent if after all some people do give in secretly. Dharma is for them who observe it.

God's way is for the brave; it has no room for the coward.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 10-6-1928

467. BARDOLI DAY

The 12th of June has been fixed for expressing sympathy with the satyagrahis of Bardoli and helping them in other ways. How should we observe this day? All struggles involving satyagraha call for self-purification. A satyagrahi tries to make his truth triumph through his own purity and through his penance and he has faith in his endeavours. Hence let us attain the utmost degree of purity on the 12th of June and ask God to give us the strength to bear any sufferings so that truth may triumph. This can be regarded as first-class help. Moreover, since Bardoli is in Gujarat, that province, realizing that it has a special responsibility towards it, should start on the 12th of June a *yajna* for self-purification. If possible, on that day everywhere people should absolutely voluntarily stop their routine business—their means of livelihood—and collect funds to help the struggle in Bardoli. Huge meetings should be held at various places in the evening and resolutions should be passed expressing sympathy with the struggle and condemning the Government's anarchical policy. Further, at all such meetings contributions should be collected from those who have not been approached for such contributions during the course of the day, and have come to attend the meeting.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 10-6-1928

[1] The first line of a song by Pritam, a Gujarati poet

468. GOD OR GURU—WHO IS GREATER?

Under the above heading a gentleman has sent me the following article:[1]

I have no knowledge of what the writer has said about the Marwari devotee. I am not acquainted with the three verses from *Siddhanta Rahasya*[2] whose purport he has given. But there is no doubt that a belief of the kind he has discussed does exist in Hinduism. I myself sing the following verse every morning:

> Guru is Brahma, Guru is Vishnu, Guru is God Siva,
> Guru verily is the Supreme Brahman; to that Guru I bow.

I am convinced there are strong reasons for the Hindu belief concerning the greatness of the guru. That is why I have been looking for the true meaning of the word 'guru' and saying time and again that I am in quest of a guru. The guru in whom Brahma, Vishnu and Siva merge and who is the Supreme Brahman Himself cannot be an embodied man with his humours and diseases. He will possess the powers of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. In other words, He can only be an ideal being. This guru, our desired god, can only be God who is the embodiment of Truth. Hence the quest for such a guru is the quest for God. If we look at the matter thus, the meaning of all that the writer has said is easily understood. One who can show us God is certainly fit to be guru and may be said to be greater than God. We see God's creatures suffering in many ways. Anyone who can free us from this web would deserve a place superior to God's. This is also the meaning of the saying: "The servant of Rama is greater than Rama." The meaning of all these great utterances is so simple that if we examine them with a pure heart we shall not be led astray. Every such great utterance has an indispensable condition attached to it. One who frees us from desire, anger and so on, initiates us into the religion of love, frees us from fear, teaches us

[1] This is not translated here. The writer had referred approvingly to Gandhiji's view that no living being should be worshipped and no man could be called good while yet alive (*vide* "Indulgence in the Name of Devotion", 6-5-1928.), but had pointed out that, according to Hindu tradition, God could be reached only by the grace of the guru and therefore one could worship the guru. He gave the instance of a Marwari devotee from Calcutta being received by the crowds in Bombay with drums and cymbals.

[2] A work of Vallabhacharya

simplicity, gives us not only the intelligence to establish identity with the poorest of the poor but also the heart to feel such identity, is certainly, for us, more than God. This does not mean that such a servant of God by himself is greater than God. If we fall into the sea we shall be drowned. However, if we drink, when we are thirsty, a jugful of water from the Ganga which flows into the sea, taking it from near the source, that Ganga water is more to us than the sea. But the same Ganga water is like poison if taken at the point where the Ganga meets the sea. The same is true with regard to the guru. To accept as guru one who is full of conceit and arrogance and hungering to be served is like drinking the poisonous water of the Ganga that carries all manner of filth into the sea.

Today we practise *adharma* in the name of dharma. We cherish hypocrisy in the name of truth and degrade ourselves as well as others by pretending to be possessed of spiritual knowledge and usurping all kinds of worship. At such a time dharma consists in refusing to accept anyone as guru. It is doubly sinful, when a true guru cannot be found, to set up a clay figure and make a guru of it. But so long as a true guru is not found there is merit in going on saying "Not this. Not this.", and it may one day lead to our finding a true guru.

There are many hazards in trying to go against the current. I have had, as I continue to have, many experiences—bitter and sweet—of this. I have learnt but one thing from these, viz., that whatever is immoral and must be opposed should be opposed, even if one is all alone in opposing it. And one should have the faith that if the opposition is truthful it will one day surely bear fruit.

A devotee who is after eulogy or worship, who is offended if not given honour, is no devotee. The true service of a devotee is to become a devotee oneself. Hence I oppose, wherever possible, the worship of human beings which is in vogue nowadays and urge others to do likewise.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-6-1928

469. WHAT DOES SELF-CONTROL REQUIRE?

A gentleman who wishes to enter into an argument writes to say:[1]

It is my experience that self-control which requires another's consent cannot last for any length of time. Self-restraint needs only the consent of one's own inner voice. It owes its strength to soul-force. And that self-control which has its roots in knowledge and love cannot but leave its impress on its surroundings. Ultimately the other party too becomes agreeable to it. This is true also of husband and wife. If the husband has to wait till the wife is ready or *vice versa*, most probably neither will be able to shake off the desire. In many instances where one partner relies on the other for practising self-control, it finally breaks down because of this lukewarm attitude. If we go deeper into the matter we shall find that when one partner waits for the other's consent, he is not really prepared for self-control or is not truly keen. It is for this very reason that Nishkulanand has said: "Unless attachment goes renunciation cannot stay." If the latter requires attachment to go along with it, one who wishes to practise self-control may require the consent of the other who does not.

The above correspondent has a straight path before him. He is yet unmarried, and if he is really determined to practise *brahmacharya* why should he marry at all? His parents and other relatives will of course say from their own experience that for a youth to talk of *brahmacharya* is like churning the ocean and, saying so, holding out threats, displaying anger and meting out punishment, they would try to dislodge him from his pious resolve to practise *brahmacharya*. However, one to whom breach of *brahmacharya* is the highest punishment and who would not do it even to secure an empire, how can such a one get married, giving in to anyone's threats? My article from which the above passage has been quoted was not meant for those who are not so firmly determined and who have not set such great store by *brahmacharya*.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 10-6-1928

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked whether a spouse wishing to observe *brahmacharya* should not first seek the concurrence of the other party.

470. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. Don't expect anything long from me just now.

I am glad Mathuradas's work was as sound as you describe it to have been. I had no doubt about his ability in the direction. He is a fine worker.

I am glad too that you are discovering potency of khadi in more directions than one. But of course your chief work is to make flood relief thoroughly businesslike. If you need any help from here in the shape of workers, you will not hesitate to tell me. I may not be able to cope with your demand, but at least let me have the option of saying no.

Ignore the Hindu-Muslim question. Let experts devote themselves to it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NARAYANDAS MALKANI
CENTRAL FLOOD RELIEF COMMITTEE
HYDERABAD, SIND

From a microfilm: S.N. 13410

471. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABU,

I have your letter. The word 'labour' covers the work of service such as you are doing.[1] But it cannot cover artistic, literary or other pursuits for pleasure.

[1] The addressee had asked: "What is the meaning of 'honest labourers', Do you use it in the sense of manual labourers or in the wider sense? Is there any room for literary, artistic, aesthetic pursuits?"

I see that your reference was to the eldest son of Vindheshwari Babu. I am sorry for the mistake.

Of course I do not anticipate any difficulty about your wife.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 52

472. LETTER TO ARTHUR MOORE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I must apologize to you for not having acknowledged your telegram. And meanwhile I have your letter[2] before me. Since receiving your telegram, I have been having cuttings from *The Statesman,* which I am keeping on my desk. I have read the first two articles with interest. I have not yet reached the rest. The fact is I hardly get any time to attend to anything outside my beat.

If I can usefully take part in the discussion that you have inaugurated, I shall not fail to do so. But I confess to you that neither the Statutory Commission nor constitution-making interests me much. I am concentrating my attention upon the means of attainment of swaraj. Neither the Statutory Commission nor constitution-making appeals to me as part of the means.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR MOORE, ESQ.
EDITOR,
"THE STATESMAN"
6 CHOWRINGHEE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13411

[1] The addressee had written: "I shall certainly write to you before I think of sending wife to the Ashram."

[2] The addressee had written: "Is it not possible that we could collectively clarify our ideas by a friendly discussion during the course of this summer, and, perhaps, arrive at some agreement, or approach to agreement, as to the lines of a future constitution? My idea is that this discussion should be conducted without regard to the Statutory Commission, so as to bring into it both those who are willing to co-operate with the Commission and those who are not."

473. LETTER TO SADANAND

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

MY DEAR SADANAND,

I have your letter with a copy of my so-called contribution to the Anglo-American Newspaper Service.

I have sent nothing to this Service or any other Service on the topic mentioned in this copy. But on going through the copy sent by you, I observe that it is an indifferently-taken newspaper report of a speech I delivered in Colombo during my Ceylon visit.[1] A fairly good report of that speech appears in Mahadev's booklet[2] on the Ceylon tour. I am glad you did not publish it and referred the copy to me for confirmation.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13413

474. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

If your interpretation of the Pabna settlement is correct, what a great tragedy? And yet I must remain dumb. I thought that we had outlived this dread of imprisonment. Evidently we have not. How is Nikhil? Hemprabhadevi must give me a weekly letter. Did [I tell][3] you I wrote to Dr. Ray?

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1594

[1] Gandhiji visited Ceylon in November 1927; *vide* Vol. XXXV.
[2] *With Gandhiji in Ceylon*
[3] The paper here is discoloured.

475. SPEECH AT GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD

June 11, 1928

At present you students are perhaps in a disturbed mood. You invited me to stay here so that your state of suspense may end or for some other reason, and I agreed, hoping to ease or to end this state. But all or most of those who extended the invitation have proved to be cowards. Having invited me they turned me out. The conditions laid down when I was called again were such as would not be acceptable to a self-respecting man like me. By breaking them, you let slip a good opportunity to come closer to me. But we are not separated. The aims of the Vidyapith form a bond between you and me. I wanted you to assimilate these ideals, but then I could not succeed.

You might have gone through these aims during the vacation. If you had thought over them, you must have understood quite a few things. If you did not utilize your holidays in that way you must have come back as you went home. I have often said in the Vidyapith that you should never strive to increase your numbers. I do not mean to say that we would not like large numbers, but their absence need cause no disappointment to us, it must not give rise to a feeling that it is all over or that we have lost the game. We may be fewer number or more but our real strength lies in the acceptance of these ideals and in practising them to the extent it is humanly possible. Even if there are few such students, we can surely accomplish what we want to through the Vidyapith, that is to say, freedom, not final deliverance, but deliverance in the form of swaraj; the freedom for which the Vidyapith has been established will be surely won. If we are false we shall not get swaraj. You will see that the changes which have taken place and which you will find taking place hereafter had to be introduced with some hesitation lest they prove burdensome to you. What a pitiable condition this is! This is worthy neither of you nor of us. What is needed is a categorical assurance from you to the teachers and the management that you will not hesitate in the least to implement these principles; you will never swerve from the path of duty. There has been no such assurance and I have come to ask for it. The work will shine forth if from the very beginning of the term you free your teachers from worry. There should not be even an iota of

falsehood in your work. You will bring credit to the Vidyapith only if you do not deceive yourselves, your teachers, your elders and your country. You can ask your teachers for an explanation for every single matter. It is their duty to solve your problems. If you fail to do it and just mark time, then the administration of the Vidyapith will be out of tune. The functioning of the Vidyapith should be as smooth as music. The ground note of the *tanpura* produces only gross music. It is only one whose life is full of music who can be said to know music in the true sense. Even a child would know this music of life, if its parents have guided him correctly. Crying is the only speech known to the child, even that, if harmonious, sounds well. The students should have the sweetness of a child. It is easy to obtain this state if you are truthful. India's swaraj can be won through the students if they are truthful in their conduct. There is no need to prove that swaraj is to be achieved only through the way of truth and non-violence, as this is inherent in the principles of the Vidyapith. One who doubts it has no place here; or if he does he should have his doubt cleared at the earliest opportunity.

The difference between a Government school and our school should be understood. Some of our students have gone to jail and more will follow. That is a credit to the Vidyapith. Can the students of a Government school dare help Vallabhbhai? Or after helping him, can they remain in the college without deceiving their teachers? Then, whatever their education, what use is it? What use is education stripped of its essence? What is a counterfeit rupee worth? The man who cheats by circulating it deserves to be punished. The position of the students of a Government school is like that of this counterfeit rupee. Our school certainly has preserved that essence; besides, it is going to increase.

Another difference should also be borne in mind. I have pointed out many times that there can be no comparison between the education imparted in a Government college and that given to you. You will be lost if you enter that maze. We shall not be equal to them. We do not want to teach English the way it is taught there. But we want to give the students a deep understanding of literature through the Gujarati language. We want to ensure the spread of the Gujarati language, to see that it shines forth, that it is able to express our deepest thoughts. To have to use English words while talking in Gujarati is a perverse and utterly shameful state. In no other country do we find such a state of things. We shall later impart such knowledge of the English

literature as would be necessary. Whatever knowledge we acquire at present will be obtained through Gujarati only. We shall learn science also through our own language. If we cannot coin new technical terms, we shall adopt English words but their explanation will be in Gujarati only; thus our language will acquire force and whatever adornments we want to use would come naturally to our tongue and pen. We ought to get out of this ludicrous state as soon as we can. What I have written about this in *Navajivan* you may take as the last word. How much has the nation to suffer because knowledge is imparted through English! This is one instance of the fact that we have failed in our dharma, and in our conduct too.

The second instance relates to economics. The economics taught there is inadequate. If you are inquisitive, you will find that the economics taught in German, American or French languages differs from one another. From the talk that I had with a Hungarian visitor, I gathered that the economics of his country must be quite different. Each country has its own science of economics, based on the local conditions. It is not right to assume that one country's economics is true for the whole world. Why are the economics taught today ruining India? We do not know Indian economics, we have to discover it.

The same is true of history. The teachers should consider what the history of India could be. A Frenchman writing a history of India will write it in a different way; so would an Englishman. An Indian looking into original records and studying Indian conditions would certainly write it differently. Do you believe as absolutely true the English accounts of the Anglo-French conflicts? Whoever wrote them might have written them correctly, yet they are written from his own point of view. He would narrate only those incidents wherein the English won. We too would do the same. The French too would do the same. In fact we would write an altogether different history of India. An English scholar would interpret the *Mahabharata* in one way, an Indian in another, and in a still different way if he sincerely followed it. Vincent Smith has a style and erudition, what he writes therefore looks well, but it is not correct. English scholars themselves point out that there is in it much that is not true and that much has been left out. The same can be said about William Wilson Hunter. Here history would not be taught from books. If the teacher has made an extensive study of India and has observed for himself, if he is a patriot, he will teach history in a particular way. But if he has stuffed his mind with histories written by Englishmen he is going to take

you nowhere; nor has he himself found a way. He is under the malignant influence of Saturn!

In our institution, everything will be taught in a way opposite to that in a Government school. Our teacher will solve mathematical problems in a different way. Gregg is composing a novel science of mathematics for the Indian children whom he teaches. Our teacher should not teach with the help of the distance between Manchester and Liverpool. He should frame his examples from conditions here, so that our history and geography too may be learnt from this. We have to reconstruct everything, mathematics, history, economics, geography. If you students do not help in this, what can the teachers do? And if the teachers themselves are immature it is obvious that the principles will crumble.

Do not give up your faith, patience and perseverance. If you have faith in the teachers and the principles, you would not be faint of heart, nor even if your strength is small, and you will bring glory to the Vidyapith. You will compel your teachers to give you all that they have. If you are studious, you will be able to pester your teachers with questions about what I have spoken. If you take enough interest here is plenty of interesting work, you will have vigorous bodies, vigorous minds and vigorous souls.

You come here to enlighten your souls. Hence if you take interest in vocational training that is provided here, even if you have no flair for vocations, you will acquire one. But it will not be possible if you go about your work mechanically. If you take interest you will see that it also is a science by itself. If you work intelligently, you will find that there is a lot of interest in it. You will be able to prove that there is a science behind it. Resolve that you want to become a weaver, a carpenter, and win freedom for India; that you do not want to take up a job nor be a teacher. Determine to live by labour, by weaving khadi, by becoming a khadi worker.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-6-1928

476. LETTER TO PREMLILA THACKERSEY

June 11, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

I received Rs. 100 from you two days ago. I got your letter only today. If we can still see to it that your name is not published, we shall do so. This will be possible only if it has not yet been published.

I am keeping well. When will you come again?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4812. Courtesy: Premlila Thackersey

477. LETTER TO S. MURATORI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter of 15th May, I have no objection to your publishing an Italian translation unabridged of the firs volume of "The Story of My Experiments with Truth".

I do not make any special conditions, but anything you may care to give will be utilized for the furtherance of my public activities.

Yours sincerely,

S. MURATORI, ESQ.
C/o ITALIAN CONSULATE
BALLARD ESTATE
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14747

478. *SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM*

This Ashram was opened on 25th May, 1915. A constitution was drawn up when it was founded. It underwent a revision during my incarceration. The copies were exhausted long ago. My colleagues and I found it desirable to recast the constitution in view of the many changes and ups and downs that the Ashram had undergone. Its unexpected expansion too made the old constitution out of date. The burden of preparing the first draft fell on my shoulders. Though pressure of work was ample excuse for the delay, I know that my subconscious self shirked the task. I was not clear as to the changes that were to be made. But my colleagues would give me no peace and Maganlal's death hastened the completion. The following constitution is the result of the joint labours of the main workers. It is published purely as a draft, though pending revision it is to be accepted as a binding constitution by the Managing Committee. It is published in order to secure the opinion of friends and critics known and unknown of the Ashram. Any criticism or suggestions that may be sent will be thankfully received. I may be permitted to mention that the Ashram represents a prayerful and scientific experiment. The observances are many but they have been tested for the past 13 years of the existence of the Ashram. Whilst it is impossible to claim their perfect fulfilment by any one of us, the workers have in all humility tried to enforce them in their lives to the best of their ability and with more or less success. The curious will find that the new draft bears very close resemblance to the original constitution as it was drawn up in 1915.

Founded on *Vaishakh Sud 11th, Samvat 1971*,—May 25th, 1915,—at Kochrab, and since removed to Sabarmati.

Object

The object of this Ashram is that its members should qualify themselves for, and make a constant endeavour towards, the service of the country, not inconsistent with the universal welfare.

Observances

The following observances are essential for the fulfilment of the above object:

I. Truth

Truth is not fulfilled by mere abstinence from telling or practi-

sing an untruth in ordinary relations with fellow-men. But Truth is God, the one and only Reality. All other observances take their rise from the quest for and the worship of Truth. Worshippers of Truth must not resort to untruth, even for what they may believe to be the good of the country, and they may be required, like Prahlad, civilly to disobey even the orders of parents and elders in virtue of their paramount loyalty to Truth.

II. Non-violence or Love

Mere non-killing is not enough. The active part of Non-violence is love. The law of Love requires equal consideration for all life from the tiniest insect to the highest man. One who follows this law must not be angry even with the perpetrator of the greatest imaginable wrong, but must love him, wish him well and serve him. Although he must thus love the wrongdoer, he must never submit to his wrong or his injustice, but must oppose it with all his might, and must patiently and without resentment suffer all the hardships to which the wrongdoer may subject him in punishment for his opposition.

III. Chastity (*Brahmacharya*)

Observance of the foregoing principles is impossible without the observance of celibacy. It is not enough that one should not look upon any woman or man with a lustful eye; animal passion must be so controlled as to be excluded even from the mind. If married, one must not have a carnal mind regarding one's wife or husband, but must consider her or him as one's lifelong friend, and establish relationship of perfect purity. A sinful touch, gesture or word is a direct breach of this principle.

IV. Control of the Palate

The observance of *brahmacharya* has been found, from experience, to be extremely difficult so long as one has not acquired mastery over taste. Control of the palate has, therefore, been placed as a principle by itself. Eating is necessary only for sustaining the body and keeping it a fit instrument for service, and must never be practised for self-indulgence. Food must, therefore, be taken, like medicine, under proper restraint. In pursuance of this principle one must eschew exciting foods, such as spices and condiments. Meat, liquor, tobacco, bhang, etc., are excluded from the Ashram. This principle requires abstinence from feasts or dinners which have pleasure as their object.

V. Non-stealing

It is not enough not to take another's property without his

permission. One becomes guilty of theft even by using differently anything which one has received in trust for use in a particular way, as well as by using a thing longer than the period for which it has been lent. It is also theft if one receives anything which one does not really need. The fine truth at the bottom of this principle is that Nature provides just enough, and no more, for our daily need.

VI. NON-POSSESSION OR POVERTY

This principle is really a part of No. V. Just as one must not receive, so must one not possess anything which one does not really need. It would be a breach of this principle to possess unnecessary food-stuffs, clothing or furniture. For instance, one must not keep a chair if one can do without it. In observing this principle one is led to a progressive simplification of one's own life.

VII. PHYSICAL LABOUR

Physical labour is essential for the observance of non-stealing and non-possession. Man can be saved from injuring society, as well as himself, only if he sustains his physical existence by physical labour. Able-bodied adults must do all their personal work themselves, and must not be served by others, except for proper reasons. But they must, at the same time, remember that service of children, as well as of the disabled, the old and the sick, is a duty incumbent on every person who has the required strength.

VIII. SWADESHI

Man is not omnipotent. He therefore serves the world best by first serving his neighbour. This is swadeshi, a principle which is broken when one professes to serve those who are more remote in preference to those who are near. Observance of swadeshi makes for order in the world; the breach of it leads to chaos. Following this principle, one must as far as possible purchase one's requirements locally and not buy things imported from foreign lands, which can easily be manufactured in the country. There is no place for self-interest in swadeshi, which enjoins the sacrifice of oneself for the family, of the family for the village, of the village for the country, and of the country for humanity.

IX. FEARLESSNESS

One cannot follow Truth or Love so long as one is subject to fear. As there is at present a reign of fear in the country, meditation on and cultivation of fearlessness have a particular importance. Hence its separate mention as an observance. A seeker after Truth must give up the fear of parents, caste, Government,

robbers, etc., and he must not be frightened by poverty or death.

X. Removal of Untouchability

Untouchability, which has taken such deep roots in Hinduism, is altogether irreligious. Its removal has therefore been treated as an independent principle. The so-called untouchables have an equal place in the Ashram with other classes. The Ashram does not believe in caste which, it considers, has injured Hinduism, because its implications of superior and inferior status, and of pollution by contact are contrary to the law of Love. The Ashram however believes in varnashrama dharma. The division of varnas is based upon occupation, and therefore a person should maintain himself by following the hereditary occupation, not inconsistent with fundamental morals, and should devote all his spare time and energy to the acquisition and advancement of true knowledge. The ashramas (the four stages) spoken of in the *smritis* are conducive to the welfare of mankind. Though, therefore, the Ashram believes in vasrnashrama dharma, there is no place in it for distinction of varnas, as the Ashram life is conceived in the light of the comprehensive and non-formal sannyasa of the *Bhagavad Gita*.

XI. Tolerance

The Ashram believes that the principal faiths of the world constitute a revelation of Truth, but as they have all been outlined by imperfect man they have been affected by imperfections and alloyed with untruth. One must therefore entertain the same respect for the religious faiths of others as one accords to one's own. Where such tolerance becomes a law of life, conflict between different faiths becomes impossible, and so does all effort to convert other people to one's own faith. One can only pray that the defects in the various faiths may be overcome, and that they may advance, side by side, towards perfection.

Activities

As a result of and in order to help fulfilment of these observances, the following activities are carried on in the Ashram:

I. Worship

The social (as distinguished from the individual) activities of the Ashram commence every day with the congregational morning worship at 4.15 to 4.45 and close with the evening prayer at 7 to 7.30. All inmates are expected to attend the worship. This worship has been conceived as an aid to self-purification and dedication of one's all to God.

II. Sanitary Service

This is an essential and sacred service and yet it is looked down upon in society, with the result that it is generally neglected and affords considerable scope for improvement. The Ashram therefore lays special stress upon engaging no outside labour for this work. The members themselves attend to the whole of the sanitation in turns. New entrants are generally first of all attached to this department. Trenches are sunk to the depth of nine inches and the nightsoil is buried in them and covered with the excavated earth. It thus becomes converted into valuable manure. Calls of nature are attended to only at places assigned for the purpose. Care is taken that the roads and paths should not be spoilt by spitting or otherwise.

III. Sacrificial Spinning

Today India's most urgent problem is the growing starvation of her millions, which is chiefly due to the deliberate destruction by alien rule of her principal auxiliary industry of hand-spinning. With a view to its rehabilitation in national life, spinning has been made the central activity of the Ashram, and is compulsory for all members, as a national sacrifice. The following are the various branches of work in this department:

1. Cotton cultivation;
2. workshop for making and repairing spinning-wheels, spindles, carding-bows, etc.;
3. ginning;
4. carding;
5. spinning;
6. weaving cloth, carpets, tape, rope, etc.;
7. dyeing and printing.

IV. Agriculture

Cotton for the khadi work and fodder crops for the cattle are the chief activities of this department. Vegetables and fruit are also grown in order to make the Ashram as far as possible self-contained.

V. Dairy

An attempt is being made to convert into a model dairy the Ashram dairy which supplies milk to the inmates. Since last year this dairy is being carried on in consonance with the principles of and with the pecuniary help of the All-India Cow-protection Association, but as an integral part of the Ashram itself. There are

at present 27 cows, 47 calves, 10 bullocks, and 4 bulls. The average dairy output of milk is 200 pounds.

VI. Tannery

At the instance of and with the help of the All-India Cow-protection Association, a tannery has been established for the tanning of dead-cattle hides. There is attached to it a sandal and shoe-making department. The dairy and tannery have been established because the Ashram believes, in spite of the claim Hindus make to the protection of the cow, that Indian cattle will further and further deteriorate and ultimately die out, carrying man along with them, unless vigorous attention is paid to cattle-breeding, cattle-feeding and the utilization in the country of dead-cattle hides.

VII. National Education

An attempt is made in the Ashram to impart such education as is conducive to national welfare. In order that spiritual, intellectual and physical development may proceed side by side, an atmosphere of industry has been created, and letters are not given more than their due importance. Character-building is attended to in the smallest detail. 'Untouchable' children are freely admitted. Women are given special attention with a view to improving their status, and they are accorded the same opportunities for self-culture as the men. The Ashram accepts the following principles of the Gujarat Vidyapith:

1. The principal object of the Vidyapith shall be to prepare workers of character, ability, education and conscientiousness, necessary for the conduct of the movements connected with the attainment of swaraj.

2. All the institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith shall be fully non-co-operating and shall therefore have nothing to do with any help from Government.

3. Whereas the Vidyapith has come into being in connection with the swaraj movement, and Non-violent Non-co-operation as a means thereof, its teachers and trustees shall restrict themselves to those means only which are not inconsistent with truth and non-violence and shall consciously strive to carry them out.

4. The teachers and the trustees of the Vidyapith, as also all the institutions affiliated to it, shall regard untouchability as a blot on Hinduism, shall strive to the best of their power for its removal, and shall not exclude a boy or a girl for reason of his or her untouchability nor shall give him or her differential treatment having once accorded admission to him or her.

5. The teachers and the trustees of and all the institutions affiliated to the Vidyapith shall regard hand-spinning as an essential part of the swaraj movement and shall therefore spin regularly, except when disabled, and shall habitually wear khadi.

6. The language of the province shall have the principal place in the Vidyapith and shall be the medium of instruction.

EXPLANATION. Languages other than Gujarati may be taught by direct method.

7. The teaching of Hindi-Hindustani shall be compulsory in the curricula of the Vidyapith.

8. Manual training shall receive the same importance as intellectual training and only such occupations as are useful for the life of the nation shall be taught.

9. Whereas the growth of the nation depends not on cities but its villages, the bulk of the funds of the Vidyapith and a majority of the teachers of the Vidyapith shall be employed in the propagation of education conducive to the welfare of the villagers.

10. In laying down the curricula, the needs of village dwellers shall have principal consideration.

11. There shall be complete toleration of all established religions in all institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith, and for the spiritual development of the pupils, religious instruction shall be imparted in consonance with truth and non-violence.

12. For the physical development of the nation physical exercise and physical training shall be compulsory in all the institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith.

NOTE. Hindi-Hindustani means the language commonly spoken by the masses of the North—both Hindu and Mussalman—and written in the Devanagari or the Arabic script.

The Ashram school has so far sent forth 15 boys and 2 girls.

VIII. KHADI TECHNICAL SCHOOL

A separate technical school is conducted which prepares candidates for the Khadi Service on behalf of the All-India Spinners' Association. There are at present 33 students from various provinces under training. 205 students have so far availed themselves of this school. The curriculum is as follows:

SYLLABUS OF STUDIES

I. 21 WEEKS' SPINNING:

1. To learn to spin with fingers only.
2. To learn the principles of twist.

3. To learn spinning sufficiently to be able to spin strong and even yarn as follows:

Time	Count	Yards	Strength	Evenness	Quality of Cotton
1 hour	6	250	50	80	Inferior
,,	9	250	50	80	,,
,,	12	300	60	90	Fair
,,	16	300	70	90	Good
,,	20	300	70	90	,,

and to finish the following quantities within the period set apart:

1 week, preparation and practice.
4 weeks, 6 counts 5 lb.
3 weeks, 9 counts 2½ lb.
4 weeks, 12 counts 4¼ lb.
4 weeks, 16 counts 2¾ lb.
4 weeks, 20 counts 2¾ lb.
1 week extra
—
21 [Total]

4. Testing correctness of spindle and its correction.
5. Spinning on *takli*.
6. To learn to guess approximately the count of any yarn.
7. To learn to find out by calculation counts of yarn.
8. To learn to reel properly the yarn spun on the spindle.
9. To know the names and measurements of all the parts of a spinning-wheel.
10. To learn to twist a strong *mal* out of one's own yarn.
11. To learn the principles of examining cotton.
12. To study *Charkha Shastra* and *Takli Teacher*.
13. To learn to spin on one's own provincial charkha.

II. 7 WEEKS' CARDING:

To go through the whole carding course:

(a) To learn to equip a carding-bow.
(b) To learn to adjust cushion.
(c) To learn to make the carding mat.
(d) To learn to distinguish various qualities of guts.
(e) To finish carding and rolling in following quantities within the specified period:
Large bow, -18 lb. in 2 weeks.
Medium bow, 22½ lb. in 3 weeks.
Bardoli and ordinary small bow, 8 lb. in 2 weeks.
(f) To be able to card and sliver as under:

Large bow, 3 lb. in a day of 8 hours.
Medium bow, 2 lb. in a day of 8 hours.
Bardoli and ordinary bow, 1¼ lb. in a day of 8 hours.
Practice with crude bows also.

III. 2 WEEKS' GINNING:

To learn ginning to be able to gin 32 lb. of seed cotton in a day of 8 hours.
To gin 100 lb. of seed cotton after threshing seed cotton.
Foot gin to be taught.
Andhra process to be taught.
Process of untouchable spinners.

IV. HANDLOOM WEAVING: Days

1. Piecing thread 2
2. Tape-making 20 yards including twisting yarn for warp and opening yarn for weft. 10
3. Bed-tape-making 75 yds. including all the processes as above 15
4. Carpet-making
Three *asans* without design 24″ x 24″ each including twisting yarn for warp and opening yarn for weft.
Three *asans* with designs including all the processes.
Two carpets on handloom 2 yds. x 30″ each including all the processes as above. 45

V. PIT-LOOM

5. Weaving 6 count double thread coarse texture 20 yds. x 30″ reed 5 dents per inch including soaking and drying yarn, winding bobbins, warping, sizing, piecing, etc. (doubling also). 20
6. Weaving 6 count double thread close texture 10 yds. x 30″ reed 8 or 9 dents per inch including all the above processes (doubling also). 20
7. Weaving 9 count double thread close texture 10 yds. x 30″ reed 12 dents per inch including all the processes. 10
8. Weaving 6 count single thread close texture 10 yds. x 30″ reed 18 or 19 dents per inch including all the processes. 12
9. Weaving 9 count single thread close texture 10 yds. x 30″ reed 18 or 19 dents per inch including all the processes. 12
10. Weaving 12 count single thread close texture 10 yds. x 30″ reed 21 dents per inch including all the processes. 14
11. Weaving 16 count single thread close texture 10 yds. x 30″ reed 24 dents per inch including all the processes. 15

VI. Fly-shuttle

12. Weaving 12 count single thread ordinary texture 10 yds. x 42" reed 17 dents per inch.

Weaving 16 counts single thread ordinary texture 20 yds. x 45" reed 20 dents per inch.

Weaving 20 counts single thread ordinary texture 10 yds. x 50" and 10 yds. x 54" reed 22 dents per inch including all the processes. 72

13. Weaving design cloth (yarn to be used of 1 to 6 counts).

Drill	10 yds. x 30"	16 dents per inch	8
Honeycomb	10 yds. x 30"	12 dents per inch	8
Twill	10 yds. x 30"	16 dents per inch	8

14. Heald-making and reed-repairing.

Twisting yarn 4 lb. 3

Heald-making from the beginning. 15

Reed-repairing. 5

15. Colours.

Dyeing and printing in accordance with the publications of Dr. P. C. Ray and Sjt. Bansidhar Jain.

Prominent foreign colours in printing and colouring to be included. 24

VII. Carpentry

1. Making *aterans* of 3 varieties and tool-sharpening. 30
2. Making *takli* cases and spindle-holders. 30
3. Making middle-size carding-bow, Bardoli and ordinary spindle and *takli*. 30

Note. Side by side with the course as above, classes are conducted in Hindi, accountancy, and the khadi essay and bulletins, and there are arranged besides lectures by members of the Working Committee of the A.I.S.A. as well as other leaders.

The average monthly food bill per student amounts to about 12 rupees.

Managing Committee

Since *Ashadha Sud* 14th, *Samvat* 1982 (24th July 1926) the Ashram has been managed by a Committee. This Committee is at present constituted as follows:

Sjt. Mahadev Haribhai Desai (Chairman)
„ Imam Abdul Kadar Bawazir (Vice-Chairman)
„ Vinoba Bhave
„ Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi

,, Narahari Dwarkadas Parikh
,, Lakshmidas Purushottam Asar
,, Ramniklal Maganlal Modi
,, Chimanlal Narsinhdas Shah
,, Narandas Khushalchand Gandhi
,, Surendranath
,, Chhaganlal Nathubhai Joshi (Secretary)

The Committee is empowered to fill up any vacancy caused in it by resignation, death or otherwise.

Election shall be by a majority of at least three-fourths of the existing members.

The Committee shall have the right to elect two more members to it.

The quorum shall be composed of at least three members.

The Committee shall have charge of the entire administration of the Ashram.

NOTE. In accordance with their express wishes Gandhiji and Kakasaheb are not on the Committee.

MEMBERS OF THE ASHRAM

Members of the Ashram shall be such persons as believe in the object and obey the rules and regulations of the Ashram, and who shall be constantly endeavouring to observe its principles, and be faithfully performing the duties assigned to them by the Managing Committee or by the Secretary on its behalf.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Only such persons shall be eligible for membership of the Managing Committee, who are over 21 years of age, who have lived in the Ashram for not less than five years and who have pledged themselves to lifelong service through the activities of the Ashram.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS

The Managing Committee has passed the following important resolutions:

1. Responsible workers of the Ashram, and also residents in the Ashram, whether temporary or permanent, shall all observe *brahmacharya*.

2. Persons desirous of admission to the Ashram shall have observed the rules of the Ashram in their own homes for the period of one year. The Chairman shall have the power of granting exemption from this rule in special cases.

3. It being undesirable that any further kitchens should be

started in the Ashram, newcomers, whether single or married, shall dine in the common kitchen.

To Guests

The number of visitors and guests has steadily increased. Such arrangements as are possible are made for showing visitors round the various activities of the Ashram.

Persons wishing to stay in the Ashram are requested to write to the Secretary for permission before coming, and not to arrive without having received an affirmative answer to their enquiries.

The Ashram does not keep a large stock of bedding and eating-utensils. Those intending to stay in the Ashram are therefore requested to bring their own bedding, mosquito net, napkins, plate, bowl and drinking-pot.

No special arrangements are made for visitors from the West. But for those who cannot dine comfortably on the floor, an attempt is made to provide them with a raised seat. A commode is always supplied to them.

Guests are requested to observe the following rules:

1. Attend the worship.
2. Keep the dining hours shown in the daily routine given below.

Branch

The Ashram has a branch at Wardha, which observes nearly the same rules, but which is independent of the Ashram in respect of management and finance. Sjt. Vinoba Bhave is the Manager of the branch.

Expenditure

The average monthly expenditure of the Ashram is Rs. 3,000 and is met by friends.

Property

The Ashram possesses land, 132 acres 38 *gunthas* in area, of the value of Rs. 26,972-5-6, and buildings worth Rs. 2,95,121-15-6, which are held by the following Board of Trustees:

1. Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj
2. Sjt. Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri
3. ,, Mahadev Haribhai Desai
4. ,, Imam Abdul Kadar Bawazir
5. ,, Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi

The present population of the Ashram is as follows:

MEN

55 workers in the Ashram.
43 teachers and students of the A.I.S.A. Technical School.
5 professional weavers.
30 agricultural labourers.

133 Total.

WOMEN

49 sisters in the Ashram.
10 professional labourers.
7 weavers.

66 Total

CHILDREN

35 boys.
36 girls.
7 babies.

78 Total. Grand Total 277

DAILY ROUTINE

a.m.	4	Rising from bed
„	4-15 to 4-45	Morning prayer
„	5-00 to 6-10	Bath, exercise, study
„	6-10 to 6-30	Breakfast
„	6-30 to 7	Women's prayer class
„	7 to 10-30	Body labour, education and sanitation
„	10-45 to 11-15	Dinner
„	11-15 to 12	Rest
„	12 to 4-30 p.m.	Body labour, including classes
p.m.	4-30 to 5-30	Recreation
„	5-30 to 6	Supper
„	6 to 7	Recreation
„	7 to 7-30	Common Worship
„	7-30 to 9	Recreation
„	9	Retiring bell

NOTE. These hours are subject to change whenever necessary.

Young India, 14-6-1928

479. IMMOLATION OF BARDOLI

Bardoli suffers through the lawlessness of the Government of Bombay and it suffers through self-imposed suffering. Both the instances will be found in Mahadev Desai's notes on Bardoli. The Government are using a Nasmyth hammer to crush a fly. For the sake of, to them, a paltry sum of Rs. 1,00,000 which the enhancement represents, they are resorting to force, untruth, flattery and bribery. These are strong expressions, but none too strong for the doings of the Government. Their force is on the surface for anyone to see. Authority makes a show of force even when it is unable to command it. In the present case it has force enough and to spare. This method is the least dangerous for it is visible. The other three are mischievous because they are invisible. The insolent letter of the Commissioner, N. D., the evasive communique of the Government are instances of untruth by way both of commission and omission. We shall know at the end of the chapter the instances of flattery and bribery. We know how those who degraded their manhood during the Punjab martial-law regime got titles and promotions. History will repeat itself in this as yet miniature edition of the Punjab. I do not mention here the subtle forms of flattery that the Government resort to when they want someone to do some questionable deal for them. Most governments resort to these four methods but what pains one most is that all these forces should be set in motion by the Bombay Government in order to bend the proud spirit of people known for their docility and innocence. It is a base calumny to suggest that they are law-breakers. If a man can lawfully repudiate a liability which he does not admit, why may not men lawfully repudiate a liability which they contend is unjustly imposed upon them by a State? And why may not the State adopt, and be satisfied for the collection of what it considers to be its dues with, the same civil measures that are open to individuals?

But this suffering to which the people of Bardoli are being wantonly subjected is raising them since they had prepared themselves for it. The brave stand taken by the simple peasants has undermined the very prestige to prop up which the Government are making the frantic efforts described from week to week in these pages.

But more purifying than this suffering imposed by godless and insolent authority is the suffering which the people are imposing

upon themselves. I refer to the resignations of sixty-three patels and eleven talatis of Bardoli and Valod. It is not a small thing for these people to give up their posts which hitherto they have used not unoften in order to make illegitimate additions to their ordinary emoluments. It is more difficult for people such as these to give up their positions than for big Government officers to do so. But suffering as well as bravery is the badge of the humble. I tender my respectful congratulations to these patels and talatis. Let them know that their sacrifice has commanded the admiration of all India. It is sacrifice such as theirs that will in the end give us our freedom. We are slaves to our desire for office under the Government. The latter knowing our weakness exploits it to the full for consolidation of its own power. But if we would only believe that He who has created us is bound to support us, if we would but do His will, i.e., work with our honest hands and feet, we should never starve, we should never walk on all fours before authority.

Young India, 14-6-1928

480. WHAT IS THE BARDOLI CASE?

The following epitome of the case has been prepared in response to many calls for the barest summary of the case for the busy reader.[1] Though the case has been stated in ample detail in these pages, the following summary will be helpful to those who want to work for the satyagrahis, but who may not know what the case exactly is and who may have no time to go through the files of papers. The summary is necessary because of the ever growing interest excited by the heroic sufferings of the people of Bardoli.

Young India, 14-6-1928

[1] For the article by Mahadev Desai, *vide* Appendix III.

481. A. I. S. A. MEMBERSHIP

The Director of the Technical Department of the All-India Spinners' Association sends me the following comparative table[1]:

The table is an instructive study. Whilst the business side of khadi shows a steady though slow improvement in quality, quantity and price and whilst the number of paid spinners is increasing, sacrificial spinning is steadily on the decline, except in Bihar and Ajmer. It either shows that the deep conviction about the power of hand-spinning to ameliorate the condition of the masses and to bring the middle class in healthy contact with the masses is lacking, or the latter, though they have the conviction, are too lazy or indifferent to make the small but continuing measure of sacrifice required of them. It is curious that even the national institutions such as in Gujarat are not supplying their full quota of voluntary spinners and that the workers even in the Khadi Service are disinclined to take the trouble of spinning that brings them no return. Is it to be wondered at that the progress of khadi is not commensurate with the national requirements? Let khadi workers and khadi lovers take note.

Young India, 14-6-1928

482. LETTER TO RAMDEV

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 15, 1928

DEAR RAMDEVJI,

I have delayed replying to your letter in the hope of being able to persuade Ba to go to Dehra Dun. But she will not be persuaded. She seems to have lost all interest in what is going on about her. The momentous changes that had been recently made in the Ashram have also, I am afraid, preyed upon her mind. She is not now keeping over well either. Mental and physical fatigue has crept upon her. In spite of all this I tried my best but failed. I am sorry to have to disappoint you. But you

[1] Not reproduced here

will recognize how helpless I am. After all she is a free agent and has been always treated as such.

I am glad you are now all right.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 13416

483. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 15, 1928

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter. Your argument is convincing. And since the inner voice tells you that in pursuit of the very goal we hold in common your place just now is in America rather than in India, I can have nothing to say. I wish you every success in America. And since I accept your conclusion, I do not need to say anything more.

I hope to be at the Ashram throughout the year, except in December. There is just a possibility of my having to go to Burma in October. But if that is so, it would be about the end of that month. You will know in good time if that is to happen. On no account should you go away without our meeting.

I am looking forward to seeing your Science Primer.

I wish I had the time to describe the momentous changes that have been made in the Ashram. If I find that there is time I shall describe them to you, otherwise you will see them for yourself in full working order.

I hope you are now perfectly strong and well.

RICHARD B. GREGG
KOTGARH, SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S.N. 13417

484. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Friday [*June 15, 1928*][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I have written to Pandit Abhayji[2] about the state of affairs at the Gurukul. I feel that reform can be brought about only if some man is there. There was a theft here. Surendra was beaten up, even Shankerbhai got a slight beating. A sum of Rs. 200 was stolen from the store. A number of changes are taking place in the Ashram. There is no time to write more. Surendra is in good health. Mahadev fell off the top of the well and got badly hurt.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VASUMATIBEHN
KANYA GURUKUL
DEHRA DUN

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 478. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

485. LETTER TO S. RAMANATHAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1928

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

I have your touching letter. Its sincerity endears you all the more to me, if more is possible.

I do not agree with some of the views you have expressed in your letter, but that is now irrelevant. That you implicitly believe in what you say is what matters. For my part, I do feel that we should not now strive with you but let you part company with all goodwill. But I am sending your letter to Rajagopalachari which I know you will not mind and taking notes with him.[3]

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13620

[1] From the postmark
[2] Abhaydev Sharma
[3] *Vide* "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 17-6-1928.

486. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1928

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I was delighted to hear from you from Tiruppur.

Yes, you must master everything, the smallest detail. For khadi is nothing but attention to the tiniest fibre. Whether it is spinning or whether it is weaving or carding, we have to begin with the very fibre. And so is it with reference to accounts in connection with khadi.

You must write to me regularly, and therefore I would like you to tell me how often you would write, whether once a week, or once a fortnight, so that I may know on a particular date like South African mail your letter has got to arrive.

You must read the Ashram constitution[1] carefully and pass on your suggestions. The constitution as you know appears in this week's issue of *Young India*.

Mahadev hurt himself severely whilst he was fetching water from the Ashram well. He slipped and fell on his back. He is better now.

The Ashram has undergone many important changes, one of which is that there are hardly any labourers of the labour type now. The cow-shed and fields and every such thing has to be attended to by the inmates. And the common kitchen has gone up to 94. We had two serious burglaries. One was a visit by 50 robbers who surrounded the Tannery and belaboured every male inmate in the hope of getting something. But there was little to be had there. Poor Surendra came in for a fair beating. But he is all right now.

SJT. RAMACHANDRAN
A. I. S. A., TIRUPPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13621

[1] *Vide* "Satyagraha Ashram", 14-6-1928.

487. *NOTE ON KHADI WORK DURING VACATIONS*

I publish an article here—without making any changes—sent to me by the office-bearers of the Takli Mandal of the National School in Bombay with the approval of Shri Gokulbhai. Let me draw the attention of all school-teachers to it. I offer my congratulations to the Takli Mandal on utilizing their vacation so well. All students studying in a National School should join the Takli Mandal. Much more can be achieved by making its activity still more interesting.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-6-1928

488. *MY NOTES*

JOURNALIST ROBBERS

The proprietors and editors of some newspapers seem to be engaged in robbery. They make it their profession to rob people's money by inventing all sorts of pretexts, by making unfounded allegations against innocent persons and threatening them. Some accept bribes and try to justify dishonest practices and in this manner dupe the innocent public. A friend from Calcutta has informed me of one such instance. A journal published there has been taking advantage of the publicity given to the immoral practices at Govindbhavan, and is making allegations against many families and persecuting the simple folk of the Marwari community. Having concocted indecent incidents which never took place, they implicate certain family people in them. The friend who has sent me this filthy paper wants me to write something about such journals so that they may mend their ways. I have no such hopes for my article. It is therefore not addressed to them but to those families who are being maligned and blackmailed by such journals.

There is a saying in English that knaves prosper among fools. This saying is based on experience. The critic at last tires and gives up criticizing those who are not cowed down by any criticism. We are too much given to a false sense of shame and a needless fear of public humiliation. Hence anyone is able to frighten and blackmail us. If someone maligns us or makes false alle-

gations against us, we are somehow scared as if we merited such criticism and allegations. Whereas the correct attitude is that whatever the criticism against us, if it is not just, we should not be cowed down by it or worry over it.

About Truthfulness and Other Vows

An inmate of the Ashram had suggested some additions he considered essential, to the Book of Ashram Rules and as they have a subtle import and are helpful in the observance of the vows, I give below their gist. Each vow has been finally supported by a quotation from the Hindu Shastras. These have been deliberately omitted from the Book of Rules because the Ashram believes that the principles implicit in the vows are not a monopoly of Hinduism but are common to all faiths. However, the statements which have been quoted in support are beautiful and are therefore given here for the reader's information.

Truth

As brevity is the armour of truth, it is contained in it. 'Truth alone will triumph and not untruth.'

Non-violence

Non-violence is the limit set by all religions. 'Sin cannot be answered by sin.'

The Vow of Brahmacharya

This vow implies complete control of all senses. 'Those wishing to attain God practise *brahmacharya*.'

Asteya

'One who enjoys the gifts of God without offering them to Him is verily a thief.'

Aparigraha

'Enjoy it after giving up its possession.'

The Vow of Fearlessness

Fear and morality are mutually contradictory concepts. Fearlessness is the foundation of *daivi sampad*[1]. 'He alone becomes fearless who dispels fear in others.'

Asvad

To eat food with a view to gratifying the palate is violence. 'Purity of diet leads to purity of heart, this in its turn strengthens *atman*'s awakening which in its turn destroys all bonds.'

[1] Divine heritage

SWADESHI

Just as non-violence sets the limit for dharma, so swadeshi sets the limit for conduct. Even death is to be preferred in the discharge of one's own dharma.

BODILY LABOUR

'When one exerts one's body without any desire one commits no sin.'

ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Salutation to all—high and low.

TOLERANCE

Forbearance means tolerance towards all religions.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-6-1928

489. *THE GOVERNOR AND BARDOLI*

Shri Munshi's correspondence with H.E. the Governor gives a vivid picture of the existing system of government. On the one hand, the Government writes long argumentative letters in order to humour Mr. Munshi so that he does not go over to the people's side, while on the other it writes specious untruths attempting to prove the people wrong. It still insists on denying what has been repeatedly and clearly put forward by the people, as if untruth by frequent repetition can become truth!

Only one point stands out in the whole letter: the Government is not prepared to change its land revenue policy. If the revenue policy is changed, the most expensive Government in the world would cease to function or, alternatively, its expenses would be in proportion to the people's capacity to bear them.

The Governor maintains that no independent inquiry can be held as between the Government and its people. By saying so, he is throwing dust into the eyes of the Britishers. An independent inquiry too will be officially conducted. Although the judiciary is independent of the executive, it is nevertheless a Government department. No one has demanded that the committee be appointed by the people. But the people have asked for the appointment of neutral persons to conduct an inquiry into the case regarding the collection of land revenue in Bardoli, in a manner similar to that followed in law-courts. This does not imply that the Government should give up the business of governing. However, it does imply the Government's giving up its high-handed

autocratic ways. And if the people are to have swaraj and if they want to obtain it, this autocracy must be summarily done away with.

From this standpoint, the struggle in Bardoli has now assumed a wider significance or the Government has fortunately for us lent it this significance.

Shri Munshi's argument or his admission that satyagraha is an illegal weapon is indeed painful. It could now be regarded as a recognized weapon. When it was employed in South Africa, Lord Hardinge had defended it. The Government of Bihar had accepted it in Champaran and appointed a committee. Shri Vallabhbhai had used the very weapon in Borsad and the present Governor himself had honoured it and had met the people's grievances. One fails to understand why this weapon should now be regarded as illegal.

However, the relevant question at the moment is not whether satyagraha is legal or illegal. If the people's demand is reasonable it does not become less justified on account of their way of putting it forward.

Bringing about a solution to this problem is in the hands of the satyagrahis of Bardoli alone. It will be solved in only one way if their sacrifice and their courage are real. If the people do not pay the revenue, the Government will either have to write it off or appoint a committee. The fact that the people's honour rests in their own hands is borne out from this correspondence.

On the 12th, the people of Bardoli were praised everywhere. From outside Bardoli people can for the present do one thing only and that is to give financial help and express their sympathy. Financial help is coming in freely from all quarters. Until now a lakh of rupees has come in. The whole of India solidly supports Bardoli's demand. But an autocratic government bows only to force. The people have wisely given up the use of brute force. Bardoli has been making use of soul-force in the form of satyagraha. The might of the Government is negligible before it. Will Bardoli honour its pledge?

It is necessary to examine a suspicion that arises out of the Government's letter and the records of its Information Department. In H.E. the Governor's letter the reason for withdrawing the Pathans has been stated to be deference to the people's wishes, whereas the Government's Information Department claims that there is likely to be little use of the Pathans now that the monsoon has set in. The Governor [alone] would know what lies behind the two divergent accounts. Let us, however, understand the inwardness of the reason given by the Information Department. During the

rainy season instead of resorting to confiscation and such other measures, that is, instead of resorting openly to a policy of repression, there is the likelihood and the fear that it will resort to secret negotiations with the people. There is a possibility that it will invite the people, send out secret agents, hold out temptations, coupled with threats, and adopt measures to divide them. I hope people will beware of this muffled blow.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 17-6-1928

490. QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION–III

Q. 7. Do you not feel that just as it is necessary for students to know three or four languages, it is also necessary for them to be informed about the dogmas, rituals, injunctions and superstitions of all the prevailing religions?

A. If we wish to create among students respect, tolerance and love for every religion—which is indeed religion and not irreligion, we should certainly instruct them in their principles. I do not consider it very necessary to have a knowledge of the superstitions and rituals. In a country like India anyone who goes about with his eyes and ears open can see for himself the superstitions and rituals. If we wish to adopt that which is virtuous, we should not at all insist upon a knowledge of the superstitions and rituals of every religion. It is possible that a good deal of the students' time will be taken up by our insisting on their gaining a minute knowledge of whatever rituals and superstitions are to be found in our religion and trying to introduce any necessary reforms in them.

Q. 8. Since you believe in the system of varnas, do you not accept that persons of different varnas should be given different kinds of education?

A. I do not feel that there should be different kinds of education for the different varnas. There is much in common among them and our education should be, as it is at present, common to all. One of the aims of education is to make men of students and he who has become a man will easily understand the norms that apply to and should govern human beings. My conception of the varnas is that they are based on occupations and as the four varnas have to earn their living through their own occupations, the special features of each should be hereditary. Moreover, I do not interpret the varna-dharma to imply that one varna can never have the

virtues of the other three. A Brahmin will not earn his livelihood by serving like a Shudra; nevertheless, if he cannot serve or is ashamed to do so he is no Brahmin. True knowledge is unattainable without disinterested service. And although the Shudra will not live on the food received in the begging-bowl after teaching the Vedas and other scriptures, nevertheless, in a well-ordered society, he too will have a knowledge of the Vedas.

Q. 9. Is it true that you say that vocational training includes all education and intellectual training is merely a frill of education? If this is so why do you welcome college education?

A. It is as much true as it is false. Where there is blind worship of intellectual education, I would certainly say that vocational training covers everything. In my definition of education, there is no wall of brick and cement separating intellectual training from vocational training, but the latter includes the former, that is, it provides scope for the development of the intellect. I would make bold to say that a true development of the intellect is not possible without vocational training. The knowledge a mason requires to earn his livelihood is not education at all in my opinion. His education should comprise a knowledge of the place of his vocation in society, of bricks and their importance, of the need for houses and what they should be like and how closely they are connected with civilization. We often wrongly believe that intellectual education implies a general knowledge of events. A full development of the intellect is possible without such knowledge. The educationist who turns the student's brain into a storehouse of innumerable facts has himself not learnt the very first lesson in education. It must have been clear by now what is said in the question is both true and false. It is false if you accept my view of intellectual and vocational education. It is true if these are regarded as mutually exclusive, if there is misconception concerning education and if in framing the question this misconceived education has been kept in mind. It should now be understood why and under what conditions I welcome university education. The university which I visualize will consist of masons, carpenters and weavers who will be truly intellectual social workers,—they will not be only masons, carpenters and weavers having a knowledge of their trades sufficient merely for them to earn their livelihood. From this university I look forward to seeing a Kabir arise from the weavers, a Bhoja Bhagat from the cobblers, an Akha from the goldsmiths and a Guru Govind from the farmers. I regard all these four as having received intellectual education.

Q. 10. If vocational training is all that education is, why do you not entrust the Vidyapith to a committee of carpenters, blacksmiths and weavers; let them then engage professors for intellectual education as expert servants.

A. The answer to this question is covered by the answer to Question 9; nevertheless, it has been reproduced with a view to clarifying my meaning further. If I had with me weavers, etc., like Kabir, I would certainly hand over the reins of the Vidyapith to them and these professors who impart intellectual education would not be ashamed to serve under them but rather consider it an honour to do so. It is because we have not regarded vocational training as part of education that those practising the trades are regarded as inferior and we get little or no help from the latter in social service work.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 17-6-1928

491. LETTER TO RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

June 17, 1928

DEAR RAMANANDA BABU,

The only excuse for not acknowledging your letter together with the registered book-packet[1] is that I have been altogether overwhelmed with work and I am in arrears with my correspondence. Mahadeo Desai who generally attends to part of the correspondence, moves between Bardoli and Ahmedabad and therefore he is unable even to look at it. And there have been other causes to make me short-handed even whilst I am overwhelmed with work.

I am keeping the manuscript in front of me in the hope of being able to read it the very first opportunity I can get. But when that will be is more than I can tell.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
PRABASI PRESS
91 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13419

[1] The manuscript of *India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom* by Dr. J. T. Sunderland was sent to Gandhiji for comments.

492. LETTER TO SURENDRANATH BISWAS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] My heart is with you, but not my head. As you know I have always been against workers living above their means and incurring debts and then finding themselves in trouble. I regard it as a vicious habit. How can I help you? Or better still, the only help I can give you is to advise you even to face the insolvency court, or to approach your creditors, surrender everything to them and then live the life of a labourer pure and simple. I see no other way for us educated men, if we are to serve India truly.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SURENDRANATH BISWAS
P 14 A NEW PARK STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13421

[1] The addressee had written that he had incurred certain debts as Chairman, Reception Committee of the Bengal Provincial Conference held in Faridpur in 1925. He had also incurred certain debts in his private capacity. Several suits were pending against him and he was for some time put under arrest. Appealing to Gandhiji, he wrote: "May I have the indulgence of begging of you a letter of introduction? I want you to write only that you attended the Conference and heard the Reception Committee had incurred debts for defraying the expenses, that I was the Chairman of the R.C. and am known to you and that I as the Chairman need help from the generous public to pay off the debts."

493. LETTER TO FLORENCE K. KREBS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I shall be pleased to see you whenever you can come to the Ashram. I am not likely to leave the Ashram during the year. And when you come, you will of course stay at the Ashram, if you can manage with very simple vegetarian fare and comparatively simple life.

Yours sincerely,

FLORENCE K. KREBS[1]
CARE POST MASTER
SRINAGAR
KASHMIR

From a photostat: S.N. 13422

494. LETTER TO N. C. BARDALOI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Mr. Banker has given me your letter. It has caused me pain. The loan was given to you for a definite purpose at the instance of Rajendra Babu. And why should [you] mistake discipline for dictation? Can an organization be run successfully when everybody wants to work without interference from headquarters which gives loans to workers? Surely, there must be a higher code of honour regulating the relations between a volunteer organization and its voluntary workers than between a purely business organization run for profit and its employees.

But your last sentence simply amazes me. You say you will not take any responsibilities, when you took responsibility at the

[1] An American traveller, who studied Eastern religions and wrote articles for magazines

time you borrowed well knowing the conditions under which the loan was given. And why should you want the presence of an agent from the A.I.S.A. to help you? I can only say that the loan is a debt of honour even more than a debt in law, which it certainly is, and that you should honourably discharge it.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. N. C. BARDALOI
SANTI BHAVAN
GAUHATI (ASSAM)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13623

495. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I am not worrying about Nikhil. Personally, I have resigned myself to his approaching death. What worries me is the shock that it will give to Hemprabhadevi. Although she has been writing to me bravely, I know what the actual fact will mean to her and must mean to you also. But having gone through the purgatory in the death of Maganlal, I am emboldened in asking you to steel your hearts against giving way to grief. He who gives must have the right to take away. And, after all, there is no taking away. "Death is but a sleep and a forgetting." Maganlal is living in a more real sense now than when he was in the flesh. Every change that he himself would have desired but perhaps could not have carried out is now in the course of being made in the Ashram with a hearty will by the co-workers.

I wish I had the time to describe these to you.

To have a separate exhibition of our own side by side with the Congress Exhibition, will savour of active opposition, which I think we may not offer. I am quite clear about refraining from taking part in it, if mill-cloth is admitted. But I am not at all clear about the propriety or the advantage of having an exhibition in opposition to the Congress Exhibition, for it can

[1] A copy of the letter was sent to the Secretary, A.I.S.A.

be interpreted in no other way. I would like you therefore to think over this thing seriously.

The order from the Calcutta Corporation is a good stroke.

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8917

496. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

June 17, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your two letters. The news about Kamala and Indu is disturbing. I am hoping to have more definite information from you. I am tempted to suggest for both, and certainly at least for Kamala, the poor man's remedy, and that is hip-bath and sitz-bath according to Kuhne's system, and dieting together with sun-bath. But I know that this is not practicable and that she will have to go through the ordinary treatment.

I hope that there will be an agreed draft constitution in a complete form brought out by the Committee.

From a photostat: S.N. 13420

497. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your warm letter as also your kind cheque. I know that Vallabhbhai will very much appreciate it.

I agree with you that it will be a tragedy if the All-Parties Committee does not bring out a full-fledged constitution. I know that Motilalji is keen about it and therefore I am hoping that we shall have a constitution from this Committee.

I did get from the *Hindu* Office the cutting containing your interview. I read it with much interest, but I do not agree with your remarks about Mr. Das. It is however now unnecessary for me to discuss the reasons for my dissent. Your affection for me

which I see running through that interview and which I have always prized was no new discovery for me.

I am asking the Manager, *Young India*, to send you the required information.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13424

498. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

June 17, 1928

Herewith letter from Ramachandran which you would like to see and appreciate.

Navajivan has been converted into a Trust. I have included your name as one of the trustees. I hope you do not mind this. The trustees are:

Sjt. Dattatreya Balakrishna Kalelkar
,, Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker
,, Jamnalalji Bajaj
,, Mahadev Haribhai Desai
,, Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel
,, Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi
,, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari
,, Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt

Many changes have been made in the Ashram. Two burglaries have also taken place, one of a serious nature. I have asked Subbiah to describe all these to you.

Here is Ramanathan's letter and my reply.[1]

Encls. 3 (5 sheets)

From a photostat: S.N. 13622

[1] *Vide* "Letter to S. Ramanathan", 16-6-1928.

499. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

It was very good that you had the chance to see Sahasradhara. The word is not *sahastra*, it is *sahasra*. Giving up of buffalo's ghee and milk applies to the Ashram only. It does not apply when one goes elsewhere, although one who has well understood the distinction will give it up wherever he may be. At present sufficient cow's milk is available at the Ashram. Arrangements have been made to get cow's ghee from somewhere.

I dictated this letter before four o'clock in the morning. I received a second one in the course of the day. I let Kamala read the part containing the apology. Nowadays I get up early, at three o'clock, [otherwise] I could not cope with my work. Chi. Kusum also insists on getting up at that time and I do not object.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 480. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

500. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

June 17, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

Vallabhbhai, Swami and Jamnalal have arrived. I am enclosing the draft herewith. I feel there is no need for us to go any deeper into the matter. Just now let him do what he likes. If the satyagrahis are true, victory is theirs and finally if they prove to be weak, then it will be morning when they wake.

The saying that weak friends are no better than enemies is being proved.

Everyone is extremely pleased with your work at present. May you live long and do much.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14445

501. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

June 18, 1928

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I had read the news that you had reached safely. This is a letter of supplication. I have some lean cattle and dry cows and some calves; it costs a lot to keep all of them in the Ashram. If you can keep them in your estate it would be less expensive. I can pay the expenses if you wish. If you think that this can be done, please send Bhai Joshi here. This idea occurred to me just because he is there. After he has come and seen and given you the report, if you think it proper you may offer shelter to the Ashram cattle. I am making this experiment on behalf of the Cow-protection Society. Does Lady Ramabai remember the spining-wheel?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5908; also C.W. 3222. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

502. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM,
June 18, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I enclose with this two letters from friends[1] in Austria. Both are most deserving. I consider it necessary to invite them to India and make them acquainted with the country. For such purposes I do not wish to make use of your donation. Bhai Jugalkishoreji takes pleasure in such matters. If you deem it proper, send him all the letters. We have to send them £200. If he wishes to make this donation the amount will have to be sent promptly.

Your health, I trust, is good. Read the Ashram rules[2] carefully and do send whatever suggestions you consider proper.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6160. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

[1] Mr. and Mrs. Standenath
[2] *Vide* "Satyagraha Ashram", 14-6-1928.

503. *LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI*

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I continue to get your letters. But I cannot say that they satisfy me. You always say that both of you are pressed for time; it is difficult for me to conceive what great work you have on hand. But we both derive comfort from the proverb that it is better to have someone to call uncle than to have no uncle at all. I had hoped for something better from Sushila but even if she lacks Manilal s physical fitness she must have at least reached his level of wisdom. But must you take on each other's defects, and not virtues? I shall be pleased if you cast aside this great lethargy and you will be benefited too. Other letters from Africa and elsewhere always contain more news than is to be found in your letters. I must get a reply to my previous letter in which I have reminded you of the debts to the Ashram. If you want you may coolly contemplate the fact that the debt will be entered in the Bad Debts list but I cannot. At present significant changes are taking place at the Ashram. I have no time to describe them now. These days I get up before the four-o'clock morning prayers and dictate many letters, for only so can I cope with it somewhat. Whilst dictating this, the four-o'clock bell has rung, so I stop.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4739

504. *LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYAR*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

I dictate this because I am spinning and I want to save the few minutes that will be required for writing to you in Gujarati.

I am eager to write to you at once to tell you that your article is A 1. I have read it through, though hurriedly. But I find

nothing in it jarred and it is just the kind of thing that was wanted for "outsiders", not in the Government sense, but in our sense. No one else, I am confident, could have written the article, because no one else would have the penetration that you have. You have shown why the struggle has been possible and how the splendid organization has come into being. I only hope that the article will be copied widely by the Indian Press. This article shows, and I never had any doubt ever since my reading of your essay which was published in *Young India,* what capacity you have, if you will only have confidence in yourself. Between you and Mahadev I can safely forget all about [*Young*] *India* and perhaps never write a single line. However, let me hope and wait.

Mahadev is all right now. He will be up and doing in one or two days. He is doing even now. You know what the cause was. He had a fall at the well where he was fetching water. We have very few labourers in the Ashram. You know that we had one robbery and one burglary. There were nearly 50 robbers. Surendra and Shankerbhai came in for a fair beating alongside the workers at the Tannery. And I was so happy to find these two amongst those who were beaten. The burglary was committed in the store-room two days after the robbery, though I do not think that they are interrelated.

There are many other startling changes. The common kitchen has expanded to nearly 100 and the place where I was staying is turned into women's quarters. My office is in Maganlal's room. The kitchen has been transferred to the kitchen attached to the Chhatralaya. I take my meals with the rest there. The other things you must learn from Imam Saheb if you open out to anybody at all.

I hope that you are keeping your body in perfect form. Devdas has returned to Almora.

From a photostat: S.N. 13427

505. *LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Sen Gupta writes to me saying that I should move the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee to vote for you as President of the coming Congress. Of course the idea appeals to me. But be-

fore I make any move at all, I should like to know your own opinion about it. Perhaps it is not yet time for Jawahar to occupy the throne. And if the Committee that you are managing brings up something substantial, it would be as well for you to wear the crown. Sen Gupta suggests Malaviyaji as an alternative. I will await your reply before writing to Sen Gupta.[1]

I was disturbed about Kamala's health. Jawahar gave me bad news. And he told me that doctors thought that Indu also required attention. Doctors never scare me. But I should like to feel that there is nothing wrong with Kamala and certainly nothing wrong with Indu.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13624

506. *LETTER TO K. S. SUBRAMANIAM*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

MY DEAR SUBRAMANIAM,

I have thought over Subbiah's requirements and I feel that he should have a clear Rs. 100 and if he has to live in a rented house, his rent up to Rs. 20 should be extra. This arrangement should be retrospective as from 1st of May. Therefore he should have the extra Rs. 15 paid to him, half by the Association and half by the *Young India* Office. I am writing to Mohanlal to the same effect. You will require Jamnalalji's and Mr. Banker's sanction. Please receive the same and make the payment. I do not need now to worry any more over this or to write to Mr. Banker or speak to Jamnalalji.

Blessings from

SJT. K. S. SUBRAMANIAM
A. I. S. A., MIRZAPUR
AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 13428

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J. M. Sen Gupta", 21-6-1928.

507. *LETTER TO SHANKARAN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 20, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letter. The list has always remained with me and the acknowledgment was printed in *Navajivan* without the list having been got from me. I knew of the acknowledgment appearing in *Navajivan* only from your letter. About *Young India* I was myself looking over it and therefore I corrected the mistake yesterday and have the whole list printed, which you will see in *Young India* of this week. It was all done before your letter came. I hope however to see that all the names appear in *Navajivan.* I say I hope because I am so rushed just now that I may forget it.

Mahadeo had had a somewhat serious fall at the well where he was drawing water. He was laid up for 5 days. He is better now and in two three days he will be quite restored.

Now about your questions: Even though the cause for which a donation was given may have been fulfilled, the balance left cannot be used at the will of the donee, even though the cause for which he uses it is superior to the cause that is fulfilled. For, what the donee may consider superior may be bad cause in the estimate of the donor. I have just now an instance of that character on which I had to decide yesterday. A gentleman gave Rs. 10,000 in connection with national schools to Jamnalalji. That amount of money is still unused. Jamnalalji wants to make use of that money for national education, but for national education which includes the untouchables. This is a superior cause as you, Jamnalalji and I would consider. But I have advised that without the donor's permission, seeing that the money is still unused, it cannot be used. And the donor is certain not to give his permission because of the disturbing introduction of the so-called untouchables. If Jamnalalji utilizes the money for a purpose which the donor had never intended, he would be wrong and guilty of the breach of the vow of *asteya.*

With reference to the second question: I take your own case. You have reduced yourself to comparative poverty by throwing overboard your job. Surely, you are the richer for it. And if your personal wants are still further reduced, you would be

richer again. It is better that a man gives the whole of himself than that he must retain a part for himself and a part for society. And when a man reduces his wants to nil, he has given away his whole self.

I hope now the thing is clear. I am keeping well.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13429

508. ACCUSED JUDGING

The Director of Information has entered into a remarkable refutation of the allegations made in these pages by Mahadev Desai regarding the conduct of the Pathans.[1] Mahadev Desai having had a serious fall at a well whilst he was drawing water is laid up in bed and is therefore unable to write out his weekly notes and therein take notice of this refutation. But the Director's refutation does not need a specialist. The admissions made in it are damaging to his cause, which is the Government's, and his refutations are unconvincing, where they are not utterly worthless.

But before I examine the Director's communiques, let me make one point clear. What is it that the Government is after in publishing these communiques through the Director of Information? Does it seek to substitute its own courts of law and become judge in cases against its own officers? I freely confess that so far as the public are concerned, the allegations made by the Satyagraha Publicity Office are *ex-parte*, unproved statements. But for this Publicity Office there is no other course open to it. Satyagrahis, even if they have no compunction about going to courts of law, cannot go to the Bardoli courts, where they know they can get no hearing, much less justice, becasue their complaint is not against private individuals but against Government officers, and that too during a regime which very nearly approaches martial law. The satyagrahis have therefore no other course open to them but to acquaint the public with the extraordinary nature of the coercive measures that the Government has adopted. What however can be the meaning of counter-allegations by the Director? What can be the value of his denials? He is not in the same plight as the satyagrahis. The Government has all authority. If the allegations made by the Satyagraha Office are untrue, the Government has its own remedy. The Government little realizes that it has lost all credit and that even where statements made on

[1] This appeared in *Young India* issues of May and June, 1928.

its behalf are true, they are suspected by the people as untrue. Such is its black record. If then the Government has evidence to show that the allegations are untrue, let it appoint an impartial open committee of enquiry and the Satyagraha Office will undertake to prove every statement made by it and apologize and otherwise suffer where its statements cannot be sustained. But the Governor's long and copious letters to public men leave no room for any such hope. I therefore welcome the resolution that Sjt. Munshi has adumbrated in his powerful letter addressed to the Governor announcing his resignation. I tender my congratulations to Sjt. Munshi for his resignation and more for his brave letter. I hope he will carry out his resolve to get together a committee of investigation. Let him get the soundest men and if I may venture to suggest, let him take a leaf out of the Government book and get colleagues drawn from the various communities. Let him get one Parsi, one Mussalman and if possible one Christian, whether English or Indian, and let there be for this self-appointed committee a proper reference within which it would work, and if it would take a little more trouble, I would suggest that it should not confine its investigations merely to the coercive measures but extend them to the case of the satyagrahis regarding the enhanced assessment. I hope too that the committee will invite the Government to send its witnesses to present its case. That the Government may not condescend to send witnesses to such a committee is highly likely. If it does not, it would provide one more cause for its condemnation.

Now for the Director's communiques. The Governor says that the Pathans are to be withdrawn in order to "remove any misunderstanding". The Director says that they are being withdrawn as owing to the impending rains their services would be no longer required. Which statement is the public to believe? And if the Pathans are not required because of the impending rains, why is a glorified edition of the Pathans in the shape of armed police with a special officer and working under special magistrate required? The people will be excused if they suspect behind the withdrawal of the Pathans a sinister design still further to encompass the satyagrahis of Bardoli and awe them into subjection.

Another communique denies that one of the Pathans was only the other day caught red-handed in the act of theft. The denial is set forth in the language of a judge as if the Director had both the complainant and the accused present before him and had come to the definite conclusion. I have before me the state-

ment submitted to Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel, as President of the Railway Union, by the Pathan watchman at Bardoli station who caught the man red-handed, along with the knife and the stolen salt. He states therein that the police authorities were trying to water down evidence and coercing him to withdraw the complaint. But the Director comes to the following pontifical conclusion: "The police have found the case to be one fit to be classed as untrue." No wonder because the railway Pathan will not lend himself a tool in the hands of the police. Of equal value is the statement that "the Deputy Superintendent of Police can definitely state that the photographs taken by non-co-operators were not taken during the commission of the so-called theft". But the admission that the accused Pathan was on the railway platform, that he did pick up a handful—as a matter of fact two bundlefuls—of salt sufficiently damages the Government. Who does not know that when people caught red-handed are sought to be protected, the acts witnessed are watered down by a corrupt police? In this instance salt became waste and came to be picked up from the ground. And since it is inconvenient to have a Pathan with a knife, possession of a knife by the Pathan is denied. I have had the good fortune to know Pathans in South Africa. I have had equally good fortune to know many here. Their bravery when they are not spoiled is unquestioned. But I cannot recall a Pathan without a knife. But the so-called non-co-operators do not claim implicit trust in their allegations. They claim an impartial investigation. Not so the Director of Information. He claims the authority of a judgment for his statements.

The second denial is just as embarrassing to the Director as the first. It is not denied that a Pathan threatened Kalyanji, but it is denied that he threatened to stab him. The threat, it is said, was held out because the Pathan objected to being photographed. The Director gratuitously adds that non-co-operators are well aware that the Pathans object to being photographed. I am one of the non-co-operators. But I have not known a Pathan yet to raise such objection and I have known many Pathans to have been photographed and I have known some who had been eager to be photographed. I understand from Sjt. Vallabhbhai that the very Pathans were, until they discovered that the camera was being used to discredit them, anxious to be photographed. He further assures me that if he got the opportunity he wants, he would be able to show how and where the objection was manufactured. And we all know that the King of the Pathans, His Majesty Amanullah, has willingly submitted to the tortures of photographers.

But in the forest of words that the Director has brought into his assistance, one thing stands out clear, namely, that Kalyanji was threatened. By the way, let me make this clear, that the satyagrahis in Bardoli are not today offering non-co-operation. On the contrary they want to co-operate with the Government in finding out the truth about assessment. As non-co-operators they could not have asked for a committee. They could simply have repudiated the authority of Government. But they have not done so. Their satyagraha is merely confined to securing justice from the Government of the day.

The third refutation is about the pulling of a woman by a Pathan out of her house. It is admitted that a Pathan stood in an open doorway. It is not stated why he should have stood in an open doorway in a private house. It is admitted also that a woman came forward to say that she had been pulled and pushed by a Pathan trying to enter the house. The valuable information is then given to the public that this woman a few days afterwards excused herself to Mr. Benjamin who taxed her with the falsehood by saying: "What was I to do?" Surely cross-examination of the woman is here required before any value can be attached to Mr. Benjamin's statement.

The fourth refutation is about the indecent behaviour of a Pathan. Here too the fact of the nudity of the Pathan is not denied. But what is stated is that there was no indecent intention behind indecent appearance. And the absence of indecent intention is sought to be inferred from the practice of the villagers answering calls of nature at all kinds of places in villages. An intelligent public can easily draw its own inference from such a denial.

Of the same type is the denial about another Pathan exposing himself before two girls.

In the sixth refutation about the indecent assault committed on a woman the assault is haltingly admitted. But the Director naively says: "It is possible that someone acted as Rehmat states, but there is no evidence that the man (if any) was a Pathan", as if the evidence of Rehmat herself to the effect that it was a Pathan who committed the assault is of no consequence. The Satyagraha Office has the statement made by the cartman who rescued Rehmat to the effect that the assailant was a Pathan employed by Government.

I have taken only a few samples from the communiques and I have analysed the one that has special reference to *Young India*, for I claim for this journal such absolute impartiality and insistence

upon truth as is possible for erring human beings. All the writers in *Young India* have to append at least their own initials. Sjt. Mahadev Desai is himself a lawyer. By over ten years of practice of the profession of journalism he may be claimed to be a fairly trained journalist. As such he must among several qualifications possess that of being able to sift fact from fiction. He goes periodically to Bardoli in order to see things with his own eyes and hear with his own ears. It may be presumed that he has a reputation to lose. I therefore felt constrained while he was on his back to study his notes which are the subject-matter of the refutation as also the Director's notice of his notes and I at once saw that Sjt. Mahadev Desai had nothing to be ashamed of and that the Director's refutations did not contain anything to shake Mahadev's estimate of the facts that he observed in Bardoli.

The Director is conveniently silent about the brutal beating of the buffaloes by the Pathans who in one instance battered a poor beast to death. And does he know that though he proclaimed in one of his communiques that the resignations given by the talatis and patels were under duress, the patels and talatis have emphatically repudiated the calumny?

The communiques as also the Governor's letters make much of the fact that the Government could not be blamed for having brought in Pathans, as Banias in Bardoli had also Pathans as their watchmen. Neither the Governor nor the Director seem to know that nobody in Gujarat relishes the idea of anyone hiring the services of Pathans as watchmen, etc. Not that the people of Gujarat have any ill will against them, but there is a sinister motive behind the hiring of Pathans, and those who hire such service do not take care to pick out the noblest amongst them. On the contrary, they take good care to get hold of men who may be capable of doing the greatest mischief. And if the selfish Banias and others do not mend, they and the rest of the people of Gujarat will have to pay a heavy price for getting hold of bad characters and exploiting them for their own purposes, be they Pathans or others. But when a Government copies a practice that is known to be essentially bad and distasteful to the people in general, it heaps wrong upon wrong and should not be surprised if it comes in for an extra dose of blame. There could be no other meaning in the Government sending Pathans to Bardoli than the meaning that attaches to the hiring of the services of Pathans by private individuals. And what inference can the Governor or the Director want the public to draw from the fact that some Pathans are not foreigners? Surely both must have the sense to know

that the objection raised in Bardoli was not against Pathans as such. The word 'Pathan' there has a different connotation. As used by the people in Bardoli it means an essentially bad character, —a hooligan. The people of Bardoli would welcome all the good Pathans from wherever they may come. And after all, it was a railway Pathan who came to the rescue and made the statement to Vallabhbhai about a fellow Pathan. The objection then is not to the race but to the character of men posted in Bardoli. Therefore the situation is not altered in the slightest degree by the Government's withdrawal of Pathans, when they have sent instead an armed police. Let it not be said of the Government that if the people of Bardoli resented whips in the shape of Pathans, they received scorpions in the shape of armed police backed by special magistrates.

Young India, 21-6-1928

509. BARDOLI BUNGLE

The more the Government excuses itself in the Bardoli case, the more it accuses itself. The long letters of H.E. the Governor written to Sjt. Munshi make confusion worse confounded and do not improve its position even in the estimation of a constitutionalist as Sjt. Munshi claims to be.

The Governor's letters altogether evade the issue. His Excellency claims that another inquiry has already been made and assures his correspondent that "there is not one member of Government who is not fully satisfied as to the justice of Government's action and in fact I should use the word 'generosity'".

This is moving in a circle. If the Government were to make fifty inquiries of the type mentioned in the correspondence, they would not improve matters for it. On the contrary, these inquiries would prove its perverse determination to give a stone each time the Bardoli people ask for bread. They do not want a hole-and-corner inquiry in which they are not usefully and effectively represented and which is not open and independent. They contend that what the Government regards as just, even generous, the people believe to be unjust and oppressive. They contend, and these columns have attempted to show why, that Mr. Jayakar's and Mr. Anderson's reports are worthless, full of mis-statements and errors even of calculation.[1] They undertake

[1] *Vide* "What Is the Bardoli Case?", 14-6-1928.

to substantiate their contention before an open, impartial and independent committee.

The Government proudly and with fatiguing reiteration tell the public that they accepted neither Mr. Jayakar's rate of assessment, i.e., 30 per cent increase, nor Mr. Anderson's, i.e., 29 per cent increase (a generous reduction indeed upon 30 per cent) but that they reduced the increase to 20 per cent. And now we are informed by the Governor that this reduction was not only just but even generous. What the people want is not generosity but justice pure and simple, and they submit that even the 20 per cent increase is unwarranted by facts, unwarranted by the condition of the agriculturists. His Excellency on the other hand protests that if a committee was appointed, it would be found that the increase should have been much higher. If that is the sincere belief of the Government, why does it not accept the very reasonable prayer of the people for the appointment of a proper committee by whose decision they declare they are willing to abide?

When the people challenge the findings of officers of the Government, it is monstrous, it is insulting to throw in their teeth the reports of other officers who base their conclusions upon mere documents often varnished and more often superficial. If the Governor is desirous, as he professes to be, of acting on the square, let him accept the honourable offer sealed and sanctified as it is with the sufferings of the people for whom His Excellency makes in his letters profuse avowal of anxious sympathy.

But, declares the Governor, the "outsiders", whom the Commissioner, N. D., has made famous by his insulting libel, stand in the way of the full flow of that sympathy. If they are in the way of the agriculturists, "who", the Governor claims to "know well", "would all pay up the assessment as many are now doing, if they are allowed to", why does he not summarily remove these objectionable tresspassers? The Government has been hitherto always found to be resourceful enough to remove all the "tall poppies" it has discovered inconveniently in its way. Why then is it leaving alone this (in the elegant language of the Commissioner, N.D.,) "swarm of agitators from Kheda living on the poor people of Bardoli" and allowing the innocent peasants to become a prey alike to the "agitators" and the Pathans now to be replaced by the organized police drafted into Bardoli?

The Governor is in such a hurry to justify his 'constitutional' position and discredit Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and his faithful companions, that forgetful of his statement in one letter that there

were 40 Pathans, in another he says there were only 25. But of the Pathans I shall have to say more in another article.

The Governor seeks to justify the assessment in Bardoli on the ground that the people of Chorasi who are similarly assessed have not resisted the enhancement. I know nothing of the case of Chorasi. But I do know this that many a wrong has been submitted to before now by the people of India earning for them (in their case) the uncomplimentary title of "the gentle Hindoo". It may be that the people of Chorasi are too weak to resist the levy, whereas the people of Bardoli having been under healthy influence for the past six years have found themselves strong and willing enough for sufferings that must be entailed in resisting a Government that has become notorious for its unscrupulousness and frightfulness.

Here is the naked paw. Says His Excellency:

> Why should Government give up its undoubted right of administration to, as you suggest, the decision of some independent committee? I am anxious to meet the situation in every way that is possible, but no Government would be worth the name of Government which allowed such a thing to happen.

"The undoubted right of administration" is the uncontrolled licence to bleed India to the point of starvation. The licence would be somewhat controlled if an independent committee were appointed to adjust the points in dispute between the people and the executive authority. Let it be noted that the independent committee does not mean a committee independent of the Government. It means a committee appointed by the Government of men known to be independent of official pressure and authorized to hold the enquiry in the open with the right to the aggrieved people to be duly and effectively represented. But such an open enquiry means the death knell of the secret, autocratic revenue policy of the Government. Where is, in the modest demand of the people, the slightest "usurpation of the functions of Government"? But even the least check upon the utter independence of the executive officers is enough to send the Government into a fury. And when the British lion is in a fury in British India, God help the "gentle Hindoo". Well, God does help the helpless and He only helps when man is utterly helpless. The people of India have found in satyagraha the God-given infallible *gandiva* of self-suffering. Under its stimulating influence the people are slowly waking up from the lethargy of ages. The Bardoli peasants are but showing India that, weak as they are, they have got the courage to suffer for their convictions.

It is too late in the day to call satyagraha unconstitutional. It will be unconstitutional when truth and its fellow—self-sacrifice—become unlawful. Lord Hardinge blessed the South African satyagraha and even the all-powerful Union Government gracefully bent before it. Both Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy, and Sir Edward Gait, the then Governor of Bihar, recognized its legitimacy and efficacy and an independent committee was appointed resulting in adding to the prestige of the Government and resulting in the ending of a century-old wrong. It was then recognized in Kheda and a settlement, reluctant, half-hearted and incomplete as it was, was made between the Government agents in Kheda and those who were guiding the movement and the people. The then Governor of the Central Provinces condescended to treat with the Nagpur Flag satyagrahis and released the prisoners and recognized the right claimed by the satyagrahis. Last but not least Sir Leslie Wilson himself when he was yet untouched by the atmosphere of the "most efficient service in the world" recognized its efficacy in Borsad and granted the Borsad people relief.

I wish both His Excellency the Governor and Sjt. Munshi will take note of these facts that have happened within the past fourteen years. Satyagraha in Bardoli cannot now be suddenly declared unconstitutional. The fact is the Government have no case. They do not want their revenue policy to be challenged at an open enquiry. If the Bardoli people can stand the final heat, they will have the open enquiry or the withdrawal of the enhancement. It is their undoubted right to claim for their grievance a hearing before an impartial tribunal.

Young India, 21-6-1928

510. *NOTES*

A Noble Soul Gone

As I am writing for *Young India*, I have a wire from Nilkanth Babu advising me of the death at Sakhigopal of Pandit Gopabandhu Das who was one of the noblest among the sons of Orissa, the land of sorrows and tears. Gopabandhu Babu had given his all to Orissa. I heard of him and his sterling character and steadfastness when Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar was sent to Orissa in 1916 to distribute relief to the famine-stricken. Sjt. Thakkar used to write to me how Gopabandhu Babu braved inconvenience and disease in struggling to help the helpless. He gave up his prac-

tice and his membership of the Legislative Council during the Non-co-operation days and never wavered. What was more for him was to stake the existence of his dearest creation, the Satyavadi School. He braved the taunts of some of his closest friends and persisted to his eternal honour in what they considered to be his folly. His one ambition in life was to see dismembered Utkal united and happy. He had lately become a member of Lala Lajpat Rai's society and was planning to make khadi an efficient vehicle for the economic relief of poverty and flood-stricken Orissa. The country is the poorer for the death of Pandit Gopabandhu Das. Though he is not in our midst in the flesh, he is in our midst in the spirit. Let that noble spirit guide the workers of Orissa, let his death result in a larger dedication to service, greater effort, greater self-effacement and greater unity among the scattered workers who are too few for the national requirements. I tender my condolences to the relatives and the many disciples of the deceased patriot.

A Shame upon Young Men

A correspondent sends me a newspaper cutting showing that recently in Hyderabad, Sind, the demand for bridegrooms has been increasing at an alarming rate, an employee of the Imperial Telegraph Engineering Service having exacted Rs. 20,000 as cash dowry during betrothal, and promises of heavy payments on the wedding day and on special occasions thereafter. Any young man who makes dowry a condition of marriage discredits his education and his country and dishonours womanhood. There are many youth movements in the country. I wish that these movements would deal with questions of this character. Such associations often become self-adulation societies, instead of becoming as they should be, bodies representing solid reform from within. Good as the work of these bodies is at times in helping public movements, it should be remembered that the youth of the country have their reward in the public appreciation they get. Such work, if it is not backed by internal reform, is likely to demoralize the youth by creating in them a sense of unwarranted self-satisfaction. A strong public opinion should be created in condemnation of the degrading practice of dowry and young men who soil their fingers with such ill-gotten gold should be excommunicated from society. Parents of girls should cease to be dazzled by English degrees and should not hesitate to travel outside their little castes and provinces to secure true, gallant young men for their daughters.

A TRIBUTE

In a letter to Mahadev Desai thus writes Mr. H. S. L. Polak about the death of Maganlal Gandhi:

> I can fully enter into your appreciation of the disaster that has befallen the Ashram by Maganlal's sudden passing. It was as though I had lost an own brother. You, of course, know far better than I how tremendously important he was to the life and purposes of the Ashram, and how much he symbolized its ideal and practical character. It seems incredible that this dear, cheerful, smiling brother, with whom I had exchanged so close and affectionate an embrace on my last day at the Ashram, should have passed in the physical form from among us so suddenly. He has died, as gallantly as any knight of old, on the battle-field.
>
> Maganlal and I, as you know, worked closely and always harmoniously at Phœnix. Indeed, cheerfulness and harmony were the key-notes of his character, and a supple courage that adapted itself to meet the needs of each new trial. Of late years we met only upon my occasional visits to India, and then only for brief periods, but I always felt refreshed and stimulated by this renewal of an old and affectionate comradeship.
>
> He has left a noble and shining example for us all, and I feel very sure that, though he be absent really in the flesh, his spirit will move among you perhaps more really than if he had remained in the form that was so familiar and dear to us.

Many of us in the Ashram are realizing the truth of the last observation.

Young India, 21-6-1928

511. LETTER TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 21, 1928

MY DEAR SEN GUPTA,

I have your letter about the President of the forthcoming Congress. I like your suggestion. But before deciding upon the thing finally, I want to know Panditji's own mind. I have therefore written to him in the matter[1] and, as soon as I hear from him, I hope to write to you further and more definitely.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Motilal Nehru", 19-6-1928.

I had your letter about the Exhibition. It does not satisfy me. But evidently in this matter we shall have to agree to differ. As you know I hold very strong views about swadeshi. But if they do not commend themselves to Bengal, I must wait till Bengal is converted or I collapse. However, I may not argue with you. I shall watch the developments there. I see no difference between what you write to me and the information that was given to me. Let me conclude by saying that I am not against machinery as such, but I am opposed to machinery that may be designed to displace the masses without giving them any adequate and satisfactory substitute.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13626

512. LETTER TO ETHEL ANGUS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. If I succeed in going to Europe next year and if it is at all possible, I should certainly accept your kind hospitality. I have no doubt about it that I have many friends in England as in other parts of Europe.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar is making steady progress with his Ashram in the South. I am taking the liberty of sending your letter to him and I know that he will read it with interest and joy.

I thank you and Rev. John Todd Ferrier for his books. Much as I should like to read the several books that friends send me, it is difficult to find time to read them. But I have glanced through some of the books sent by you. The argument about purity of food naturally makes a forcible appeal to me.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14334

513. *LETTER TO RAMLAL BALARAM BAJPAI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have gone through the article of Miss Mayo, which you sent me. I have no desire to reply to the libel. If there are people who believe in this story invented by Miss Mayo, no repudiation on my part can give any satisfaction to such people.

Thank you for your kind enquiries about my health. I am keeping fairly well.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMLAL BALARAM BAJPAI
209 SULLIVAN PLACE
BROOKLYN
NEW YORK
U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 14337

514. *LETTER TO K. SRINIVASAN*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

MY DEAR SRINIVASAN,

I have your letter and the cheque for Rs. 11. You certainly deserve upbraiding if the money that you got for yourself was not needed by you.

It gives me great joy to find that you are keeping your promise. I wish you will not be ashamed of spinning before your friends. If you believe it to be good, let them see what you are doing.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. SRINIVASAN
MARCONI WIRELESS COLLEGE
CHELMSFORD
ESSEX

From a photostat: S.N. 14338

515. LETTER TO DEVI WEST

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

I have your letter. I had the charming photograph[1] also. I call it 'charming' because it is lifelike.

What you say about Maganlal is too true.

I wish I had the time to describe the many changes we have made in the Ashram. Prabhudas has just now descended from the hills where he was convalescing. Krishnadas is here and so are Chhaganlal and his wife. His parents are also here for the time being. Devdas is in the hills, I am keeping fairly well. It is possible that we may meet next year. If all goes well, I might visit Europe next year.

From a photostat: S.N. 14339

516. LETTER TO HORACE ALEXANDER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have long delayed replying to your letter, as I have hoped to send you a fairly lengthy reply. But I see that I am not likely to get sufficient leisure for attempting a very full reply in the near future.

What you say about silent prayer and congregational silence I understand and I appreciate also in theory.[2] When I was in South Africa, I attended several such meetings. But I was not much struck with the performance. In India, it will fall flat. After all, there are many ways of worship and it is not necessary to graft new ways, if old ones will answer. I am myself not satisfied with what we are able to do in the Ashram. I cannot procure

[1] Of the addressee

[2] The addressee, who had earlier visited the Ashram, had written suggesting observance of united silence on the pattern of Quakers.

a devotional mood all of a sudden or in an artificial manner. If some of us in the Ashram really have that mood whilst at prayer, it is bound to have its effect in due course. It is because of the belief that there are some earnest souls in the Ashram who approach the prayer time in a proper devotional mood, that I have persisted in retaining the congregational prayer meetings in spite of odds and sometimes even severe disappointments. I may be partial, but my own experience is that our prayer meetings are very slowly but surely growing in dignity and strength. But I am painfully aware of the fact that we are far far away from what we want to achieve. Nevertheless, I shall bear your suggestions in mind. I have already discussed them with friends.

You seem to think lightly of my having invited suggestions with reference to sanitary matters. In my own humble opinion we needlessly divide life into water-tight compartments, religious and other. Whereas if a man has true religion in him, it must show itself in the smallest detail of life. To me sanitation in a community such as ours is based upon common spiritual effort. The slightest irregularity in sanitary, social and political life is a sign of spiritual poverty. It is a sign of inattention, neglect of duty. Anyway, the Ashram life is based upon this conception of fundamental unity of life.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

HORACE G. ALEXANDER, ESQ.
WOODBROOK
SELLY OAK
BIRMINGHAM

From a photostat: G.N. 1405

517. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

I have decided to help Ganesan to the extent of Rs. 8,500 by way of loan against the security of four publications: 1. *Satyagraha in South Africa,* 2. *Gandhiji in Ceylon,* 3. *Seven Months with Gandhiji*[1], 4. *Economics of Khaddar.* But I would like you to help

[1] The title of the volume by Krishnadas is *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi.*

him and guide him. He was inclined to throw up the sponge and retire from the publishing business entirely. I thought that was unmanly and I have advised him to brave all difficulties and survive the storm. I have advised him to secure your guidance. I also suggested to him that he might get Natesan's help. But I leave all that to you. If you will think that he should do so, you will introduce him to Natesan, whom you know so well.

The books are to be stored with Harihar Sharma. If you have any other advice on the point, you will tell me.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13433

518. *LETTER TO ESTHER MENON*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

I have your two letters. Maganlal's death has not only upset all my plans but has prompted me to make what may appear revolutionary changes in the Ashram. I must not therefore give you a long love-letter.

If all goes well and the friends in Europe still want me, I hope to find myself in readiness to go next year.

I can understand your being ill in India, but why should you be ill there. I expect you to return with your original bloom and vigour.

How long do you both expect to be away? Where is Menon studying?

MRS. ESTHER MENON
HAVE, ASNAES
DENMARK

From a photostat: S.N. 14336

519. LETTER TO BEN M. CHERRINGTON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You altogether overrate my ability to help you. I however try to answer your questions to the best of my ability.

Yours sincerely,

BEN M. CHERRINGTON, ESQ.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
DENVER
COLORADO
U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 14335

[ENCLOSURE][1]

I have never had occasion to study the history of the foundations in the West. My knowledge of them being too cursory to be of any value.

In my judgment, the growing need of the times however is restoring to the things of the heart, that is, moral well-being, its true place in life. Social science, according to my view, should therefore be approached from that moral standpoint. No tinkering will answer the purpose. Your foundation[2], therefore, if it is to be true to itself, should be utilized for subverting the system under which the extraordinary accumulation of riches has been possible in America. It would seem then that if you adopt my suggestion, it becomes for the most part independent of monetary help.

In view of my answer to the first question, I need hardly answer the second. But I would say independently of the first that the organization of the foundation round industrial, racial and international relationships would be any day preferable to the tradi-

[1] The questions, to which these are Gandhiji's answers, are not available.
[2] The source has "function".

tional academic departments. If the view underlying my answer to the first question is accepted, you will have to do original research work.

In view of the foregoing the answer to this is unnecessary. It would certainly be wise to have all nations, races and classes represented. If you can take care of the youth, the citizens will right themselves.

I should lock up in fairly commodious but not too comfortable rooms a few professors and students and insist upon their finding a way out of the present intolerable position, if you hold with me that the present is an intolerable position.

I am unable to answer this.

The idea is good. Perhaps the most effective way of securing the proper type or exchange of visiting members would be to send out a representative to the countries from which you may want such members so that he may come in direct touch with the living institutions of the country or countries in question.

From a photostat: S.N. 14262

520. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. As I dictate this, the four-o'clock bell is ringing. Jaidevji has been guilty of a moral lapse; therefore I am atoning for it by going on a three days' fast. Today is the second day. I shall break the fast on Monday morning. Except for a slight weakness I feel nothing. Therefore there is no cause for worry at all. Does the climate there suit you? Correspondence is going on with Gurukul Kangri regarding better organization of Kanya Gurukul.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 479. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

521. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1928

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I am dictating this letter to you at four o'clock in the morning. From this you can imagine how rushed I am. Mahadev is still confined to bed with the injuries he had suffered. The papers about Sumant have only been placed on the table but I have not been able to read them. Of course, the one to read them is myself. I have so much trust in you that I believe that whatever satisfies you will satisfy me. Bhai Sumant's letter has not created a good impression on me because I saw anger in it and rage. But I shall write what I feel after I read it. I believe that in this connection I shall not be able to do anything either through Sumant or in any other way. That is why I have not insisted on disposing of the papers you sent me by putting aside other matters. I do not think I shall be able to go to Poona just now. If I do go, I should wish to stay in your hut. Premlilabehn has long ago taken a promise that I should stay in her hut. I have retained a proviso that I shall go only if I do not have to go elsewhere for work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4787. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

522. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1928

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

If the sons of a carpenter go in for business it would not be considered proper. Only labourers are to be included in the caste. I consider carpenters, cobblers, etc., as Vaishyas. It is difficult to reply to the fourth question because there has been

an intermingling of castes but we can say in general that everyone should stick to his occupation if it is not against morality and has been carried on from generation to generation. He who is considered worthy of being admitted to the Satyagraha Ashram will board at the Ashram only if he has no other means of subsistence. The Managing Committee has decided not to admit any newcomer for one year except under special circumstances since a lot of changes are made and are still being made at the Ashram. You will see in the *Niyamavali* that if you approve of the regulations, you will have to stay outside for one year and observe them. If you wish to be admitted at the end of the year you will have to know and live the Ashram life from today. If at all you wish to join the Ashram at any time, first of all you should stay there for two or three days.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5571

523. QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION-IV

Q. 11. In the aims of the Vidyapith it has been said that the progress of India depends upon its villages and not its cities. If this is so, why do you wish to convert our city boys? You are free to give village education to village boys, but city boys want to live city life. Why would you not give them the kind of education that suits them? Moreover, the funds for the Vidyapith come from cities. We shall say nothing if you carry the ideals of the Vidyapith to the villages and collect money, foodgrains and cotton.

A. Fortunately, this question is not asked by many city-dwellers or many students living in cities. How can city people, who are beginning to repent, talk in terms of village children getting village education at their own expense? The Vidyapith was born as a result of city people turning their attention to villages. The city-dwellers themselves took over running the Vidyapith after their eyes opened. If it is intended chiefly to serve the villages why should the villagers pay money for running it? Today even the educational machinery of the villages has necessarily to be run by the city-dwellers. The very same allegations that the city-dwellers level against the Government can be levelled against us by villagers: 'You city-dwellers have robbed us in the past and still

continue to do so. We shall be grateful to you if you will stop doing so. We are prepared to let bygones be bygones.' We woke up when a few among us city-dwellers understood this. We became aware of the grave injustice that we have done to the villages and we decided to make atonement for it. The first part of this consists of non-co-operation with the Government with whose strength and support it was and still is possible to suck the life-blood of the villages. And the second part consists in our learning to save ourselves from the results of co-operation as we gradually understand the essence of non-co-operation. If we offered non-co-operation and then sat down with folded hands, it could be said that we had not understood the meaning of non-co-operation. It is not enough not to help one who robs us of our belongings; it is also necessary to stop him from doing so and make him give up the loot. Then alone can we be said to have non-co-operated with the robber. Non-co-operation can be violent or non-violent, warlike or peaceful, one involving brute force or soul-force. We have chosen the latter alternative in each case and hence we have come to the conclusion that some of us city-dwellers who have robbed the wealth of the villages and live comfortably because of it should, by way of atonement, serve the villages in some way and offer them something in return. The Vidyapith was born as a result of this trend of thought and it is because some of us are awake and are votaries of truth that we are day by day realizing the secret of non-co-operation and, to that extent, are making the Vidyapith purer. It will now be understood why the main part of the funds contributed by the city-dweller should be used only for the purpose of educating villagers and that this can be done at present only by the graduates from the cities who have been trained by the Vidyapith.

It is my belief that it would be a betrayal of the people's trust in us if we used the funds received in the name of the Vidyapith for some other purpose. Those who donated money did so under the impression that it would be used to impart a type of education different from that which is currently given and which would be of the type described by me.

Q. 12. Over the past eight years, the stress of the Vidyapith has been on the abolition of untouchability. How many *Antyajas* have become *vinitas* or *snatakas* as a result of this?

A. I find the question strange and ignorant, for abolition of untouchability never meant, and should never mean, that we make graduates of youths regarded as untouchables. It is possible that some of them obtain these degrees in course of time. That is as it

should be. It is also in the fitness of things that the Vidyapith should always be ready to help such individuals. But to turn untouchables into graduates does not in any way form part of the programme for the abolition of untouchability. The Vidyapith has proved its partiality for and its adherence to the cause of abolition of untouchability by forgoing thousands, if not lacs, of rupees and risking its very existence and by letting go help in the running of its administration from some individuals who were otherwise quite able to give such help.

Q. 13. We see clearly that the absence of *brahmacharya* has led to physical and mental enfeeblement of the nation and endeavour and enterprise have slackened. Why then have you not permitted the use of the word *brahmacharya* in the last clause about the aims of the Vidyapith?

A. The question is well put. It is not proved that the absence of *brahmacharya* alone is responsible for the physical and mental weakening of the nation and the slowing of sustained industry and enterprise. Why should we belittle such a divine thing as *brahmacharya* by linking it with physical exercise, which, however good, is a transitory thing as compared to the former? The Westerners do not practise *brahmacharya*, yet they are not weak physically or mentally. Their untiring industry and spirit of adventure are worthy of imitation. It can be said of Gurkha, Pathan, Sikh, Dogra and British soldiers — all of whom have fine physique — that none of them are *brahmacharis*. They will outdo the students of our gymnasia in physical exercise. We can cite many such examples, to prove that physical strength, a certain kind of mental strength, ceaseless diligence and adventure — all the four of these can be attained without practising *brahmacharya*. The *brahmacharya* of my conception — one that leads to the attainment of the Brahman — is distinct from the above. It is both the means and the end; hence in order to practise it, I am perpared to sacrifice my body. One who is enamoured of the physical self will hardly be able to practise unbroken *brahmacharya*. Citing the examples of the *brahmacharya* of Bhishma and others here would be misleading. If we take too literally the events described in the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, etc., we shall be led along the path of untruth and fall headlong into a chasm. We shall certainly rise if we understand their inner meaning and put it into practice.

The body is not a thing to be thrown away. It is a thing to be preserved. If it has become the abode of Ravana, it is also the Ayodhya of Rama; it is also Kurukshetra. We must not, therefore, ignore it. It is necessary to keep it strong and healthy

and so it must have exercise. When we say this do we not give exercise its due? We preserve truth, and this amount of inducement is sufficient and has been sufficient to make exercise popular among students. On the other hand, if we try to establish an inevitable connection between exercise and *brahmacharya*, not only shall we be guilty of exaggeration but there will be real danger that a student who happens to lag behind in his exercises, instead of correcting the error in his reasoning, will blame *brahmacharya* and give it up.

Brahmacharya does not require the support of the desire for physical strength. Its necessity can be proved in other and much better ways. The West may have physical strength as well as mental strength but where does it have spiritual strength? Why envy that possession of someone by virtue of which we find that they readily succumb to passions, cannot tolerate any opposition at all, and use their will-power, diligence and courage for the purpose of robbing another nation and destroying it? And why imitate them? Since all their strength is related to what is opposite of *brahmacharya*, it has proved to be fatal to the progress of the world in the right direction. That is why I have called it monstrous. Here I do not wish to run down the West. There are many Westerners who are worshippers of truth and morality. There are a number of *brahmacharis* there too. They understand the agonizing Western urge that I am describing here. Hence we can understand and describe the outcome of all the Western tendencies while at the same time having a feeling of love and respect for the Westerners. Had the Western civilization been built on the ideal of *brahmacharya*, the state of the world would have been very different today and instead of being pitiable would have been attractive.

In this way, realizing the frightful results of lack of *brahmacharya* in the world, it is desirable that we should put the ideal of *brahmacharya* independently before the people. Full development of the soul is impossible without *brahmacharya*. Without it, man may act like a well-fed but wild horse without reins, but he cannot become civilized. Without it, wholesome as well as continuous activity and noble courage are impossible. Without it, the mind may well appear to be strong; however, it will be slave to a thousand passions and temptations. And though a body that has been developed without *brahmacharya* may well become strong, it can never become completely healthy from the medical point of view. It is not necessary to put on flesh and develop the muscles. It has been my experience over a long period that

without *brahmacharya* it is impossible to have a body which, even though lean, can withstand the rigours of heat, cold and rain and remain totally free from diseases.

I can cite innumerable instances from my own life as well as that of my colleagues of how every passion destroys the strength and soul of man. Hence I for one would say that although the body may collapse or be wasted anyone who cares for the *atman* ought to preserve *brahmacharya.*

The reasons for the physical and mental weakness of our students are quite different. Child-marriages, the fact of ourselves being the fruit of child-marriage, family responsibilities, lack or inadequacy of wholesome diet due to poverty are some of them. Let not the reader commit the error of equating lack of *brahmacharya* with child-marriage. Very great efforts are required to rid the students of the evil habits that they have formed in their childhood. Evil customs of society must be reformed; the artificial burden imposed by education must be lightened. But since this is an altogether different subject, I shall not discuss it here. I shall say only that our students will not be able to improve their physique by physical exercise alone. We can obtain the desired results only if a simultaneous effort is made on all fronts.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-6-1928

524. AT THE HOUR OF DOOM

The policy that the Government has been following in regard to Bardoli would seem to suggest that the hour of its doom is near! H.E. the Governor's letters to Shri Munshi evoke sorrow, pity and laughter. When anyone holding a high office writes lengthy, discursive letters in his defence, we wonder why such a person should do such a thing; we feel sorry for him and then, since we cannot possibly take pity on him, we feel like laughing at him.

H.E. the Governor has surpassed his predecessors in writing letters and advancing arguments and has got entangled in his own arguments. In other words, we may say that his subordinates who draft his letters have gradually got him into a knot. If instead of defending the increase in land revenue, the Governor appointed the committee demanded by the people, the misconceptions of the people as well as those of their supporters would be

cleared. The Governor is like a person who claims to possess something and though in a position to show it refuses to do so, and since he persists in his claim is treated as an impostor and laughed at.

Moreover, the head of the Information Department of the Governor who has come out in support of the latter has gone to the most absurd lengths. He has tried to refute the details cited by Mahadev Desai in his report on the misbehaviour of the Pathans. It has been customary for the people to cry out when they are subjected to atrocities. However, the Government seems to have adopted a novel practice. The ruler, instead of conducting an impartial inquiry into the people's protests, summons the culprit to his presence, listens to his one-sided story and, having dismissed the complainant, thinks he has done his duty. Why should the Government appoint a *panch* as demanded by the people to determine whether their grievances are real or otherwise? How can the guilty officials permit the appointment of such a *panch*?

The Government says that no one protests when some Banias of Bardoli engage Pathans as watchmen; then what harm is there in the Government doing likewise? This is much like trying to shield one offence with another. And how does the Government know that the people do not resent Banias and others engaging Pathans? The fact is that the people are harassed by the tendency which is growing in Gujarat of engaging Pathans for duty as watchmen and the like. Those who engage them, as well as others, cannot in the end escape punishment for it. The point that the Government wishes to make, viz., that all Pathans are not outsiders, shows its absolute naivete. The people do not resent the Pathans as such, they can have nothing against this community, they cannot be against outsiders merely because they are outsiders. They will always respect those among the Pathans who are courageous and noble. Here the word Pathan implies disreputable characters, hired murderers. Unfortunately, there are among the Pathans those who perform such evil deeds. They come down from their mountains into India in search of wealth. Indians, especially the unarmed, timid and peace-loving people of Gujarat, are afraid of such Pathans. Good, courageous and noble Pathans would not come to India looking for employment as watchmen or gatekeepers. Banias and others look for Pathan servants, and employ them because of their capacity for harassment. Since Gujaratis can stand up to Gujaratis, timid Banias get no satisfaction by employing them and do not regard

themselves well-protected. Because of their short-sightedness they do not see the harm implicit in this. However, what is the meaning of a powerful Government like the British Government imitating timid people and employing Pathans against the people? Could this not be an instance of the mind turning perverse at the hour of doom? I do not recall even this Government having acted thus before.

But what surpasses the Governor's letter and the notes of the Chief of the Information Department is the Collector's advice to the farmers. This leaflet of "good advice" asks the farmers to be courageous and not to let themselves be caught in a trap. I find in it nothing but falsehood from beginning to end and I feel pained. The Collector regards satyagraha as *duragraha*. This officer has thought up a novel way to deal with Vallabhbhai and other leaders. They are described as "persons who have no agricultural land to lose". The Collector, in the arrogance of his position, fails to see that their honour is a thousand times dearer to them than land and that the good of the cultivators is even dearer to them than their own honour. Having tried to discredit the leaders by putting words into their mouths and ignoring them in every way, the Collector has given to the farmers of Bardoli and Valod the sinister advice to pay up their revenue dues without delay and violate the pledge that they themselves have taken and reiterated several times. The least that the farmers of Bardoli and Valod can do by way of answering this immoral and degrading advice is not to pay their dues until their demands are conceded. Land, household goods and livestocks frequently come and go; but a pledge once broken cannot be retrieved just as that which has been spat out cannot be swallowed again.

We have had a true picture of the Government's unreasonableness in the Governor's correspondence with Shri Munshi. As a result of this, the latter went to Bardoli, saw the people's plight at first hand and wrote a strong and cogent letter to the Governor—on all of which he deserves to be congratulated. He has done well to proclaim his intention to form a committee and look into the matter if the Government does not appoint a committee of inquiry. If that committee gets the co-operation of leaders of all the major communities and inquires into the matter without delay, the satyagrahis would get a good opportunity to put their case before the public. It is desirable that this committee should not be content with only making an inquiry into the policy of repression but should also look into the people's grievances regarding land revenue. There is absolutely no doubt that an inquiry

conducted by such a committee will help greatly in solving this problem.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-6-1928

525. CATTLE-BREEDING

The reader is aware that experiments in cattle-breeding are being carried on in the dairy attached to the Ashram. The occasion has not yet come for describing these experiments fully. One of the aims of these experiments, however, is to breed good bulls. Two such bulls are ready in the Ashram now. Those who are keen on service to the cow or improvement of her progeny are advised to come and see these bulls and, if they wish to buy them, to meet the secretary and inquire about their price and so on.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-6-1928

526. 'A DICTIONARY'

An inmate of the Ashram who has read its Book of Rules criticizes the vows in the following manner and then gives his own definitions under the caption "A Dictionary".

> Although the definitions of the Ashram vows are exhaustive they cannot be readily understood. It is not quite clear as to what one is expected to do, hence I have put down the meanings as I have understood them or, one may say, I have prepared a dictionary of vows.
>
> TRUTH: One must renounce artificiality at any cost and discover one's inmost nature.
>
> NON-VIOLENCE: One must not forsake any creature—man or beast. Whenever there is friction and consequent suffering one should not try to make the other party suffer but take all the suffering on oneself.
>
> BRAHMACHARYA: One should calm down all passions—whether subtle or gross—when they are about to overflow. One should always be cheerful. One should be engrossed all the twenty-four hours in holy matters.
>
> ASVAD: One should sit down to a meal only when one is extremely hungry and get up when one's stomach is only half-full. One should not touch food which has been prepared by many persons with a great deal of trouble and which is likely to add to one's temptations.

ASTEYA: One should reduce one's need to the very minimum. Today's needs ought indeed to be fewer than yesterday's.

APARIGRAHA: On every Diwali and Holi day one must get rid of any money in excess of Rs. 25 that one may have in one's possession. No one should have more money than he would require for a year's expenses.

Why expenses for a year?

BODILY LABOUR: One should not spare oneself.

SWADESHI: One should not be disloyal to one's neighbours.

FEARLESSNESS: People are not awed by one who does not awe people.

ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY: An intense feeling that anyone regarded as wretched and miserable is not more so than oneself.

TOLERANCE: Giving up of the arrogant belief that what one cannot perceive does not exist.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-6-1928

527. LETTER TO SADANAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1928

MY DEAR SADANAND,

I have your letter with the enclosure.

I did have the pleasure of seeing the Assam Planters. But I have no recollection whatsoever of having told them that I was satisfied with the condition of the labour in their plantations. On the contrary, I remember having told them that my hurried visit would not permit of giving a definite opinion about the special condition of labour in the Assam Plantations and having told them what was my test of the proper condition of labourers.

I never agreed nor was there any occasion for agreement that I should abstain from political agitation among the labourers. For, it is my invariable custom not to carry on political agitation among labourers. I confine myself in dealing with labourers to their own special grievances as I did in Champaran and have done since in various parts of India.

You may make what use you like of this letter.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13430

528. LETTER TO LILY MUTHUKRISHNA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Enclosed are the addresses[1] of Muthukrishna's wife and children. His brother-in-law Mr. Pillay gave these addresses. He is the Indian Interpreter in the Durban Magistrate's Courts.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13435

529. LETTER TO NILKANTH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1928

DEAR NILKANTH BABU,

Every arrangement had been made to pack off Chhaganlal on Friday. But that very day an unforeseen circumstance prevented me from sending him to you. I am now detaining him, but I hope not indefinitely.

Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar is expected to be with you just for a short time to console the bewildered workers. But I am trying to lay my hands on someone who can take the place of Chhaganlal, if I cannot send him. But tell me meanwhile whether you would really want someone during the rainy season? Can you do much charkha work during that season? I would appreciate a telegraphic answer whether you want someone immediately and whether you can take a substitute for Chhaganlal Gandhi.

I hope you have all recovered from the shock and are continuing Gopabandhu Babu's work with added zeal.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13436

[1] These are not available.

530. LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1928

DEAR MR. NATARAJAN,

With reference to your leaderette in the *Indian Daily Mail* of . . . I would like to say just this: Whatever might have been your impression of the conversation between us when you kindly offered a donation for the Bardoli fund, I never wished to convey to you that I was collecting for Bardoli sufferers only, but I did include Bardoli sufferers in my estimate. But Sjt. Vallabhbhai tells me that there are no Bardoli sufferers as yet worth mentioning. He says that they, the peasants of Bardoli, are too proud to accept help so long as it is possible for them to avoid it. Indeed in the initial stages of the struggle, it was they who supported the numerous workers who in Mr. Smart's language are no better than a "swarm of agitators living on the poor people of Bardoli". But when the struggle became intense, forfeitures became the order of the day and when buffaloes, the real wealth of the peasantry and the mainstay of their agriculture, became a fit prey for the *japti* officers, it was no longer possible for the people of Bardoli and Valod taluks to sustain the ever-growing expenditure. Hence it was that Sjt. Vallabhbhai issued a public appeal for pecuniary help to which our countrymen have made so prompt and so generous a response. But Sjt. Vallabhbhai is anxious that we should accept no contributions from those who do not sympathize with the struggle and want to confine the use of their donations only to the sufferers. For he contends that it is wrong to accept such help when the largest portion of the donations has to be utilized for carrying on the work of the publicity office and for maintaining the many volunteers who receive and ask for no pay but who must be fed. I am therefore reluctantly obliged to inform you that I may not accept your donation unless you could see your way to remove the restriction and support the struggle on merits. I may add that since reading your article I have seen most of the principal donors who had paid me personally and they tell me they were under no impression that their donations were to be restricted as you seem to think they were and they have confirmed my impression that the donations were to be used for the

purpose named above and that they have paid because they are in full sympathy with the struggle.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. NATARAJAN
EDITOR,
"INDIAN DAILY MAIL"
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14446

531. *LETTER TO V. J. PATEL*

June 25, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

I have your letters. You should know that I get your letters one day late. The short one should have reached me on Saturday and the long one yesterday on Sunday but I got them both late. It is not customary for letters to be opened at the post office but it is of course necessary to know if they are, or is it that they were posted late there?

I like everything you say in the long letter. We should certainly maintain the dignity of the Sardar in the proper way but of course not at the cost of the people's interest. Like you I believe that the Government will have to come to a settlement. Haven't you seen the *Statesman* article? It acknowledges the weakness of the Government's case.

Whatever you are doing, while yet a speaker, is enough for the present. I do not feel it is time yet for you to give up that position.

I have found out the cause for the late arrival of your letters. You address them to Ahmedabad, while it should be Sabarmati.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14447

532. LETTER TO RAMNATH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is unfortunately true. But we have not yet been able to arrive at a stage when we can manufacture khadi thread. It will take some time.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMNATH
OVERSEER
P.O. SHEIKHAWAHAN
BAHAWALPUR STATE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13432

533. LETTER TO GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1928

MY DEAR GOVARDHANBHAI,

I have your letter.[1] Whilst it sets forth the substance of the conversation between you and me and then between Sheth Mangaldas and me, I would put my own view in this language:

It is open to the donors, and the donors are invited by the Labour Union, to appoint a committee of inspection which will have the powers of scrutinizing and inspecting the working as well as the expenses of the schools conducted by the Union and it will be open to the donors upon receipt of report from any

[1] The addressee had, among other things, written: "I and Sheth Mangaldas have understood from personal discussions with you that you entertain certain objections on principle regarding the joint administration. . . . At the same time, I understand that you advise us to appoint our own committee which may be called a Committee of Inspection with powers to scrutinize and inspect the working as well as the expenses of the Labour Schools. The conditions and suggestions made by this Committee, from time to time, will be given effect to by the Labour Union, and in the event of their non-compliance on the part of the Labour Union, the grant to the Labour Schools will cease automatically."

such committee to prescribe conditions or make suggestions in connection with the schools and in the event of these suggestions and conditions not being carried out by the Labour Union to suspend the grant made to the schools, provided that the donors before suspending any such grant will hear what the Labour Union might have to say by way of explanation regarding conditions and suggestions, that is, if they are unable to carry them out.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL
MEMBER, AHMEDABAD MILLS
TILAK SWARAJ FUND COMMITTEE
LALAVASA'S STREET
SANKDISHERI
AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 13439

534. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I understand your anxiety to check the anti-Gandhian spirit. But you will have to fight it in the Gandhian spirit and that would be to let the anti-force expend itself without resistance. I won't be able to explain what I mean through correspondence. I am certain that your business is not to expend your energy in resisting but to devote it to consolidating your own constructive work. The question you have raised is not new. It cropped up at Belgaum when I presided and I said to the non-co-operators that they must not resist, in spite of the protest of Shyam Babu and several others. I have seen nothing since to change my view. But we must discuss this personally. When I feel that the time has come, I shall certainly write upon it.

Kshitish Babu's letter I like very well. There is not a superfluous word in it. That kind of public instruction is not included in the non-resistance I have suggested.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8918

535. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1928

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter. I am passing on your letter to Narayandas with reference to your suggestion regarding the constitution[1] and sending a copy also to Shankerlal.

Mahadev is still bedridden and will have to be so for some time. He has developed shooting pain in the part affected.

I am not likely to leave the Ashram at least before October, if then.

Yours sincerely,

PS.

I miss an index to your great work[2]. I wonder if you have the time to compile it. I know I must not inflict this work on you. But unless I ask Varadachari or Mahadev, both of whom are just now overworked, I do not know to whom else I should go. Each time I turn to the book, I miss the index.

From a photostat: S.N. 13434

536. A CORRECTION

Miss Schlesin of whom mention has been made in the aut biographical chapters[3] tells me that she is not, as I have stated, principal of a girls' school but that she is a teacher at a High School. The error has given her pain for which I am sorry. I may at once say that she is in no way responsible for the error.

Young India, 28-6-1928

[1] Of the Ashram
[2] *Economics of Khaddar*
[3] Pt. IV, Ch. XII

537. THE DOOM OF PURDAH

A reasoned appeal signed by many most influential people of Bihar and almost an equal number of ladies of that province advising the total abolition of the *purdah* has been just issued in Bihar. The fact that over fifty ladies have signed the appeal shows that if the work is carried on with vigour, the *purdah* will be a thing of the past in Bihar. It is worthy of note that the ladies who have signed the appeal are not of the Anglicized type but orthodox Hindus. It definitely states:

> We want that the women of our province should be as free to move about and take their legitimate part in the life of the community in all particulars as their sisters in Karnatak, Maharashtra and Madras in an essentially Indian way, avoiding all attempts at Europeanization, for while we hold that a change from enforced seclusion to a complete Anglicization would be like dropping from frying pan into fire, we feel that *purdah* must go, if we want our women to develop along Indian ideals. If we want them to add grace and beauty to our social life and raise its moral tone, if we want them to be excellent managers at home, helpful companions of their husbands and useful members of the community, then the *purdah*, as it now exists, must go. In fact no serious step for their welfare can be taken unless the veil is torn down and it is our conviction that if once the energy of half of our population, that has been imprisoned artificially, is released, it will create a force which, if properly guided, will be of immeasurable good to our province.

I know the evil effects of the *purdah* in Bihar. The movement has been started none too soon.

The movement has a curious origin. Babu Ramanandan Mishra, a khadi worker, was desirous of rescuing his wife from the oppression of the *purdah*. As his people would not let the girl come to the Ashram, he took two girls from the Ashram to be companions to his wife. One of them, Radhabehn, Maganlal Gandhi's daughter, was to be the tutor. She was accompanied by the late Dalbahadur Giri's daughter Durgadevi. The parents of the girl wife resented the attempt of the Ashram girls to wean young Mrs. Mishra from the *purdah*. The girls braved all difficulties. Meanwhile Maganlal Gandhi went to see his daughter and steel her against all odds and persist in her efforts. He took ill in the village where Radhabehn was doing her work and died at Patna. The Bihar friends therefore made it a point of honour to wage

war against the *purdah*. Radhabehn brought her charge to the Ashram. Her coming to the Ashram created additional stir and obliged the husband who was already prepared for it to throw himself in the struggle with greater zeal. Thus the movement having a personal touch promises to be carried on with energy. At its head is that seasoned soldier of Bihar, the hero of many battles, Babu Brijkishore Prasad. I do not remember his having headed a movement that has been allowed to die.

The appeal fixes the 8th of July next as the date on which to inaugurate an intensive campaign against the system which puts a cruel ban on social service by one half of Bihar humanity and which denies it freedom in many cases and even the use of light and fresh air. The sooner it is recognized that many of our social evils impede our march towards swaraj, the greater will be our progress towards our cherished goal. To postpone social reform till after the attainment of swaraj is not to know the meaning of swaraj. Surely we must be incapable of defending ourselves or healthily competing with the other nations, if we allow the better half of ourselves to become paralysed.

I therefore congratulate the Bihar leaders on their having earnestly taken up the struggle against the *purdah*. The success of such a reform especially, as of all reform generally, depends upon the purity of the workers. A great deal will rest with the ladies who have signed the appeal. If notwithstanding their having given up the *purdah*, they retain the original modesty of India's womanhood and show courage and determination in the face of heavy odds, they will find success quickly awaiting their effort. The campaign against the *purdah* if properly handled means mass education of the right type for both men and women of Bihar.

Young India, 28-6-1928

538. LETTER TO PARVATI

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1928

CHI. PARVATI,

I have received a cablegram from South Africa to the effect that Pragji has won the case. I hope you are keeping well. Write to me sometimes. Though I may not be able to share your joys and sorrows, I would like to hear from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5032

539. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM,
[*June 30, 1928*][1]

I feel that the Government must come to terms as regards Bardoli. . . .[2] met me. He had certainly promised that he would take no step that would weaken our demand. I do not know what is going on now. But does not satyagraha serve mainly as a test of people's courage, firmness and peaceableness?

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 93

540. LETTER TO TARABEHN JASWANI

June 30, 1928

CHI. TARABEHN,

After you reached Rangoon, I have had no letter at all from you. Divali has written that she will send you a box spinning-wheel and I have told them to send it to you. There must be at least one spinning-wheel. Do you keep good health? One must take good care. Recently a lot of changes have taken place here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8782

[1] From the source
[2] The name is omitted in the source.

541. LETTER TO KUVALAYANAND

[*February 3, 1928*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter. I have not abandoned the yogic exercises at all. *Shavasan* I take perhaps indifferently. The breathing I am taking as prescribed by you. But I have made a radical change in my diet. You know my dislike for milk for religious reasons. Having no travels on hand, I am trying the nut and fruit diet. It is now nearly a month. I am taking three times one *tola* of almonds pounded to a milky substance with stewed oranges or raisins each time. Twice I take half a coconut grated and squeezed so as to get the milk out of it with stewed unripe pawpaw or unripe banana. The unripe banana I started only today. Since this change, I have not had any opening medicine and the bowels have been much better than before. Probably you don't like this change. But if you can bear with me and can guide me, please do. If you have any more exercises to recommend, please tell me. On the strength of Dr. Muthu's advice, I have not had blood-pressure taken at all for a month.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5054

[1] The source has "3-1-28" which appears to be a slip for "3-2-1928". Gandhiji would have started his dietetic experiment after returning to the Ashram on December 31, 1927. From the reference to his having carried on the experiment for "nearly a month" it appears this letter was written on February 3, 1928.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

By C. Rajagopalachari

Before the Non-co-operation movement, Indian political activity largely consisted of propaganda in Great Britain. A great deal of money, comparatively, was spent on it and was considered well spent. When Gandhiji took up the guidance of our national affairs there was a change of outlook. A grasp of the essentials of national strength was the first result of his programme and it marked all our political thought at the time. We understood the natural laws that governed the sanctions needed for the non-violent enforcement of national demands. An almost exclusive spirit of self-reliance was the natural consequence. The cultivation of favourable opinion in foreign parts including Great Britain was valued at its correct worth and distinct efforts to that end were practically given up, and opposed vigorously whenever the question was raised. So intense was the work in India and so marked were the results that the tables were soon turned, and instead of Indians going to do propaganda in Great Britain and foreign parts, India attracted numerous foreign visitors; and the British Government was forced to undertake counter-propaganda in foreign parts. In India itself the Government had to give up its self-confidence and organize its own propaganda among the people in order to resist or at least postpone the effects of the national upheaval.

With the stoppage of aggressive non-co-operation, however, there has been a reversion in Indian thought. Slowly but steadily the cry for foreign propaganda is gaining in volume again. The internal situation also, namely, the difficulties in the way of united national action, has naturally led people to turn to easier outlets of activities abroad. To those who still hold to the creed of non-co-operation and who look to emancipation only from within, this turn of the national gaze and energy to East and West is a symptom of growing weakness and a cause for anxiety. The vision is bound to be clouded and constructive efforts are bound to be prejudicially affected by the growing tendency to this diversion. Not only does it divert attention but some of the best workers will be drawn bodily into this channel of pleasanter though futile work.

Pre-non-co-operation foreign propaganda was mostly propaganda in Britain. But one of the permanent results of the efforts of these eight years is loss of faith in Britain. The last vestiges of faith that stuck to the British Labour Party have been also destroyed. The present harking back to foreign propaganda is therefore not for propaganda in England, but for the cultivation of

contacts and friendship with other foreign nations. We are told that it is very desirable to develop intimate association with the German and Russian people. We are told that the Latin races of Europe present a favourable field for propaganda. France, Italy, Spain and Portugal are mentioned. Even Scandinavia is not forgotten, being important neutral soil. We are told, again, that the need of the hour is to link India up with other countries suffering under like imperialistic exploitation. We are assured that the hope of India is a federated Asia rising against Western domination. This change of attitude in regard to foreign propaganda had naturally its echo in the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee where foreign affairs dominated the atmosphere, and many resolutions were adopted calculated to form a basis for international friendships.

It would be narrow-mindedness, indeed, and show us to be lacking the spirit of culture and humanity to refuse to have dealings with other nations if we were better circumstanced. But what would be civilization and culture and broad-mindedness under favourable circumstances would be mere helplessness under existing conditions and would lead to nothing beneficial. Friendship with other nations can grow and be beneficial only if as in personal friendships it is not cultivated on the mere expectation of advantages, all on one side. If we seek honourable friendship with others there must be something for us to give them while we seek something from them. If we are in effect truly unable to help others and only ask for something at their hands it would not conduce to mutual esteem; nor can a healthy alliance grow. If we are able really to help others, it must be by a supreme effort of national assertion which can and must, if well directed, produce far more marked results at home. The nations, whose friendship we go to woo, must find something to learn or something to gain from close association with us. If we have going on amidst us some movement of dynamic value, some revolutionary effort or some great constructive activity worthy of copy or study on others' part, we would be seeking friendship on honourable, if not equal, terms. But we cannot be ever living either on the capital of our ancient culture or on the history of the Gandhian movement.

The link of mere friendship of slavery is not likely to be a real or useful bond. Why do we turn to Russia, China or Turkey? It is not simply the greatness of the past history of these nations that attracts us. If that alone were offered we would hardly be interested. But it is because we believe that there are great movements now going on in those countries which furnish matter for useful study or admiring observation, that some of our people go to those countries. Similarly if we seek international friendship with such nations, we should have something to offer to them of value. Otherwise we would only be beggars and should expect to be treated no better.

But then, it may be said, this is to ignore world politics. There are wars coming on. The nations of the world are ever seeking to subvert one another's

plans, and India is an important piece on the board. We are not so helpless internationally as we may be internally in our own affairs. This needs clearing up and plain talking. Are we in for a war and the formation of alliances with those likely to fight England, or do we expect other countries to go to war over us? If the powers abroad go to war, they do it with gunpowder and ships. Are we ever likely usefully to participate as a nation in such war? Is it contemplated that India and other slave nations in the East may enter into a treaty, some time in the future, to rise in revolt helping each other against the common foe? Is India to expect, under any contingency arising in a world war, to render active assistance to a belligerent power against England? What, to put only one argument, is the chance of our ever achieving anything in this way? Is it practical politics of the remotest kind, disarmed as we are?

We do not want arms, it may be said: we can do a great deal by passive resistance. The only weapon in our hand is non-co-operation with the British Government during a war or peace. Here we come back to the old position. The Indian fight against England if it is to be by non-violent means depends entirely on its own strength and can never be converted into an international affair. In a non-violent struggle it is not easy, if at all possible, to obtain any material help from abroad. It must be conceived and organized and fought only on a basis of complete self-reliance.

Non-material moral help we can get from foreign countries. This we shall do not by any propaganda, foreign or domestic, but exactly in the measure that we do solid constructive work and develop internal strength.

Young India, 1-3-1928

APPENDIX II

CABLE FROM V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

MARITZBURG,
April 24, 1928

GANDHI
SABARMATI

CONFIDENTIAL. SAIC'S CABLE TO YOU FROM JOHANNESBURG ALARMED YOU UNNECESSARILY. NATAL CONGRESS LEADERS DISAPPROVE. THEIR DESIRE WAS TO ASK DEFINITE QUESTION, WAS IT PART OF YOUR UNDERSTANDING WITH SMUTS THAT HOLDERS OF CERTIFICATES AT THE TIME THOUGH OBTAINED FRAUDULENTLY, SHOULD BE UNCHALLENGED? IF THIS BE SO, I CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED CONDONATION SCHEME IN 1915 AND KEPT IT OPEN TILL 1916 OFFERING PROTECTION PAPERS TO FRAUDULENT ENTRANTS BEFORE 1ST AUGUST 1910. IT SEEMS POLAK

EARNESTLY ADVISED FULL ADVANTAGE BE TAKEN OF THIS OFFER TO CLEAN UP BUT ONLY A FEW DID SO. DEPARTMENT WILLING THAT PEOPLE ONCE CONDONED NEED NOT APPLY NOW FOR CONDONATION. BUT THE TRANSVAAL CONGRESS LEADERS DEMAND FRAUDULENT CERTIFICATES AT 1914 SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE IMMUNE WHETHER OR NOT HOLDERS THEREOF OBTAINED CONDONATION UNDER 1915 NOTIFICATION. IF THIS WAS PART OF YOUR UNDERSTANDING PLEASE IMMEDIATELY CABLE SO. FROM MY PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF MALAN, SCHMIDT, VENN, AND PRING, I AM THOROUGHLY CONVINCED THEIR GOOD INTENTIONS AT PRESENT. THEY WILL NOT KNOWINGLY GO BACK ON PREVIOUS PROMISE. REGARDING INTRODUCTION OF FAMILIES, THE NUMBER OF ENTRANTS BEFORE 1914 STILL WITHOUT FAMILIES MUST BE SMALL. NOR IS THERE GOOD REASON WHY IF FRAUDULENT ENTRANTS AFTER 1914 REMAIN WITHOUT FAMILIES, THOSE BEFORE 1914 SHOULD BE EXEMPTED FROM THAT DESIRABILITY. DEPARTMENT ASK WHY FRAUDULENT ENTRANTS IN NATAL AND CAPE BEFORE 1914 SHOULD BE TREATED WORSE THAN SIMILAR PEOPLE IN TRANSVAAL. THEY ALSO FEAR THAT THERE BEING NO REGISTRATION CERTIFICATES IN THESE PROVINCES IT IS EASY FOR ANYONE TO CONTEND HE CAME BEFORE 1914. REMEMBER BEFORE SECTION 5 CAN BE EMPLOYED AGAINST ANYONE, BURDEN OF PROOF OF FRAUD RESTS ON GOVERNMENT. IT IS NOT TRUE THAT REGISTRATION AND OTHER CERTIFICATES MUST BE SURRENDERED IN EXCHANGE FOR PROTECTION CERTIFICATES. BY EXPRESS PROVISION PARTIES ARE ALLOWED TO RETAIN THESE DOCUMENTS. TRUE THAT PROTECTION CERTIFICATES WILL COME UNDER REGULATION UNDER SECTION 25 IMMIGRATION ACT 1913 WHICH SANCTIONS TEMPORARY PERMITS. DEPARTMENTS ARE ADVISED BY LAW OFFICERS THAT MINISTER CANNOT IMPOSE CONDITIONS OF RESTRICTIONS IN THE CASE OF PERMANENT PERMITS UNDER SECTION 25, BUT CAN DO SO ONLY IF PERMITS ARE TEMPORARY. THE PROPOSED PROTECTION CERTIFICATES CONTAIN A PROMISE THAT THE MINISTER WILL NOT CANCEL THEM EXCEPT WHEN HOLDERS ARE CONVICTED OF DEPORTABLE CRIMES. DEPARTMENT CONTEND THAT THIS PROVISION MAKES THE CERTIFICATES PERMANENT IN REALITY. QUESTION OF FORM OF CERTIFICATE IS STILL UNDER DISCUSSION AND I HOPE TO GET SATISFACTION FROM DEPARTMENT IN CASE LEGAL OPINION IS ADVERSE TO PRESENT FORM. I HAVE POSTED LONG MEMORANDUM. PLEASE SUSPEND JUDGMENT UNTIL YOU READ IT. I AM UNABLE TO SEE HOW RESULTS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE STRUGGLE ARE NULLIFIED BY PRESENT CONDONATION SCHEME. PLEASE POST COPY OF THIS CABLE TO SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH. ALSO OF SAIC'S CABLE TO YOU AND THE CABLES BETWEEN YOU AND ME.

SASTRI

From a photostat: S.N. 11974

APPENDIX III

WHAT IS THE BARDOLI CASE?

By Mahadev Desai

In the matter of revision settlements there has been calculated flouting of public opinion and of resolutions of the Legislative Council during recent years. In pursuance of the advice of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, "that the process of revising the land revenue assessments ought to be brought under closer regulation by a Statute", the Bombay Legislative Council passed by a large majority in March 1924 a resolution to the effect that a committee be appointed to consider the question of regulating revision of assessment by legislation, and that "no revision be proceeded with and no new rates under any revised settlement be introduced till the said legislation is brought into effect". The first part of the resolution was carried out by Government appointing the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, but the second part was ignored, and revision settlement of one taluk after another was proceeded with in the teeth of the resolution. In the mean time the Land Revenue Committee had set and published its report, and the Bombay Legislative Council in March 1927 passed by a very large majority another resolution recommending to the Governor in Council to give immediate effect to the resolution of March 1924 by effecting necessary legislation after taking into consideration the Report of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, and "pending such legislation to issue orders to the revenue authorities concerned not to collect the assessment enhanced in revision after the 15th March 1924". The legislation suggested by the Land Revenue Assessment Committee is at present before the Legislative Council, but revision settlements have gone on, almost with the deliberate intention of frustrating the very object of the legislation when it should ultimately come to pass. Bardoli is only one of several taluks where there should have been no revision and no levying of new rates in the terms of these resolutions. This is a fundamental preliminary objection to the revision settlement in Bardoli, apart from the merits of the case.

I shall briefly discuss the merits. The new Bardoli revision settlement was prepared by Mr. Jayakar who submitted his recommendations in November 1925. He recommended 30 per cent enhancement. The Settlement Commissioner Mr. Anderson disagreed with the basis on which Mr. Jayakar had made his recommendation, adopted a new basis, and recommended 29 per cent. Government disagreed with the recommendations of both and fixed 22 per cent. The original assessment of the taluk which was Rs. 5,14,762 is under the new revision something over Rs. 6,20,000.

As against this the agriculturists of Bardoli contend that the taluk is assessed right up to the full limit and that there is absolutely no case for enhancement. The occupants in the taluk are divided as under according to the size of their holdings:

1 to 5 acres	10,379
6 to 25 acres	5,936
26 to 100 acres	829
101 to 500 acres	40

It may be safely assumed that all the occupants having not more than 25 acres cultivate their own land and that those with larger holdings lease their land to the agriculturists. This means that 16,315 occupants actually cultivate 1,27,045 acres which is the total occupied area, i.e., each occupant cultivates on an average something like 8 acres of land. It is inequitable to go on the strength of rents — economic or uneconomic — enjoyed by a very small fraction, i.e., 869 large landholders. The land revenue assessment ought to be fixed having regard to the value of the land held by the 16,315 agriculturists and to the profits of agriculture enjoyed by them under Sec. 107 of the Land Revenue Code. The agriculturists of Bardoli contend that assuming the average yield per acre and assuming the very high standard of prices adopted by the Settlement Officer as accurate (though the prices have considerably gone down since the report), an agriculturist cultivating 8 acres of land (the average) does not earn profits entitling the Government to make any increase in the existing rate of assessment. They are prepared to prove this statement and they maintain that even if the basis of 50 per cent of the profits be accepted, no increase is warranted, and if the basis of 25 per cent of the profits be accepted, a considerable reduction in the existing rates would be necessary.

They thus rely for their contention on the actual conditions obtaining in the taluk, but they also rely on attacking the value and accuracy of the Government reports. They contend, *inter alia*, that Mr. Jayakar, the Settlement Officer, made no enquiry worth the name, visited few villages, afforded no opportunities to villagers of making representations pertaining to the question of increasing the assessment, and prepared a perfunctory survey. He prepared the most essential statistics in his office, without exercising the slightest scrutiny and relied for his recommendations of 30 per cent on the sole basis of rise in the value of gross produce. The perfunctory nature of Mr. Jayakar's inquiry, if inquiry it could be called, is enough to render it valueless. But Mr. Anderson seriously questioned the value of Mr. Jayakar's report on another and very substantial ground which was pointed out by the people's representatives also. He rejected the most vital part of Mr. Jayakar's report —viz., where he bases his recommendations on the value of gross produce — as "irrelevant" and "positively dangerous as affording no justification for his proposals and suggesting arguments against them". In the circumstances Mr. Anderson's obvious duty was to suggest to Government a fresh inquiry. But he overshot the mark and

proceeded to make his own recommendations on the basis of rental statistics — a basis of which the equity has been seriously challenged by several high-placed Government officials, and the statistics themselves have in the present case been seriously challenged as lacking scrutiny. If Mr. Jayakar drove a coach and four through the Settlement Manual, in making no real inquiry, Mr. Anderson went one better in contravening the Settlement Manual which lays down that rents should be only one of the factors to be considered and that even when they are taken into account, "they cannot be used as the basis for definite conclusions. . . unless they exist in considerable volume and unless their reliability has been carefully tested". Mr. Anderson grossly erred (1) in exclusively relying on the rental statistics and (2) in assuming that the two essential conditions for their being of any value had been satisfied. In one place, Mr. Anderson charges Mr. Jayakar with having made "no attempt to compile statistics showing the area rented and the area cultivated by its owners," and yet proceeds on Appendix H and wrongly arrives at the conclusion that "*at least half* the total area is held by landlords who do not cultivate it". The error is based on his hastily assuming seven years' statistics — 42,923 acres — as one year's statistics and on his utter disregard of Mr. Jayakar's own estimate of land held by non-agriculturists, which is 23,995 acres, i.e., about 18 per cent of the total area — a more plausible, though not a strictly accurate estimate, because not based on inquiries on the spot.

For these reasons both Mr. Jayakar's and Mr. Anderson's reports are worthless and the rate of 22 per cent fixed by Government is absolutely arbitrary as it is based on no fresh or accurate data.

The satyagrahis of Bardoli have therefore pledged themselves to pay no assessment until either

1. the enhancement is cancelled; or
2. an independent impartial tribunal is appointed to examine the whole case.

Young India, 14-6-1928

SOURCES

Bapu—Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha? (Hindi) : Ramnarayan Choudhri, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1954.

Bapuna Patro —4: Manibehn Patelne (Gujarati) : Ed. Manibehn Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1957.

Bapuna Patro — 2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine (Gujarati) : Ed. Manibehn Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1957.

Bapuni Prasadi (Gujarati): Mathuradas Trikumji, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1948.

(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle* : English daily published from Bombay.

Gandhi Samarak Sangrahalaya, New Delhi : Central Museum and Library of Gandhian Literature and Documents; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349 (August 1958 edition) and p. 341 (January 1969 edition).

(*The*) *Hindu* : English newspaper issued from Madras; started as a weekly in 1878, became a tri-weekly in 1883 and a daily since 1889.

(The) Manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary : Kept in Swarajya Ashram, Bardoli.

Navajivan (1919-31) : Gujarati weekly (with occasional bi-weekly issues) edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad; first issued on September 7, 1919. It was converted from *Navajivan ane Satya*, Gujarati monthly (1915-19). Also issued in Hindi from August 19, 1921.

Panchama Putrane Bapuna Ashirvad (Gujarati): Ed. Kaka Kalelkar, Jamnalal Bajaj Trust, Wardha, 1953.

Prajabandhu : Gujarati weekly published from Ahmedabad.

Sabarmati Sangrahalaya: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 349-50 (August 1958 edition) and p. 341 (January 1969 edition).

(*The*) *Story of Bardoli* : Mahadev Desai, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1929.

Young India (1918-31) : English weekly founded by Jamnadas Dwarkadas at Bombay; from May 7, 1919, published bi-weekly under Gandhiji's supervision; from October 1919, issued as a weekly from Ahmedabad with Gandhiji as Edit o

CHRONOLOGY

(February—June, 1928)

February 1: Addressed students of Gujarat Vidyapith at prayer meeting.

February 3: Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon landed in Bombay. Protest demonstrations and meetings held. Gandhiji sent messages to Ahmedabad and Bombay for success of boycott.

February 5: Fainted while spinning; doctors advised complete rest.

February 7: Sent message to Gujarat Vidyapith meeting held to bid farewell to J. B. Kripalani.

Before *February 12:* Talked to representatives of Bardoli Taluk and Vallabhbhai Patel regarding Bardoli Satyagraha.

March 17: Gandhiji was examined by Dr. M. A. Ansari.

March 20: Gave interview to Alice Schalek. In interview to Associated Press said his visit to Europe was not certain.

March 27: Spoke at sweepers' meeting, Ahmedabad.

March 31: Addressed students and teachers of schools run by Ahmedabad Labour Union.

April 4: Sent message to *New India.*
Spoke at Ashram prayer meeting on Hanuman Jayanti.

April 7: Sent message for *News Sheet* of International Fellowship.

Before *April 13:* Addressed trainees of Khadi Vidyalaya.

April 18: Sent message to Students' Conference, Ceylon.

Arpril 22 : After hearing from Romain Rolland decided finally not to visit Europe.

April 23: Maganlal Gandhi died at Patna.

May 1: Spoke at opening of creche at Ahmedabad.

May 7: Conferred with Subhas Chandra Bose at Sabarmati Ashram.

June 11: Spoke to students of Gujarat Vidyapith.

June 12: Bardoli Day observed.

June 14: Draft Constitution of the Satyagraha Ashram was published in *Young India.*

INDEX OF TITLES

INDEX


STATE CENTRAL LIBRARY

ADDENDUM–II

Page 427, to item 496, "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", 17-6-1928, add the following paragraph reproduced from the original letter in Gandhi-Nehru Papers (Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library):

Mahadev had a serious fall from the platform of the Ashram well. He is bed-ridden but better.

ERRATA

PAGE	FOR	READ
24 Item 24, line 12	add too	add to
34 Item 34, address	Miss Lily Mothu-krishna	Mrs. Lily Muthukrishna
77 Item 84, source-line	[From Gujarati] *Panchama Putrane Bapuna Ashirvad*, p. 59	*Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, p. 68
166 Line 1	as spiritual dictionary.	as a spiritual dictionary.
293 Item 347, title	Hegraj	Begraj
310 Item 369, last line	thing is omitted	nothing is omitted
343 Footnote	By Reinhold Neibukr	By Reinhold Niebuhr
385 Para 2, line 5	constitute	constitutes